

AN INQUIRY INTO THE PURCHASING POWER OF THE DRACHMA IN ANCIENT GREECE,
FOR THE PURPOSE OF DETERMINING, IF POSSIBLE, THE MATERIAL CONDITIONS
WHICH PREVAILED IN ATHENS DURING HER EXISTENCE AS AN INDEPENDENT STATE.

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(continued overleaf)

AN INQUIRY INTO THE PURCHASING POWER OF THE DRACHMA IN ANCIENT GREECE,
OR THE PURPOSE OF DETERMINING, IF POSSIBLE, THE MATERIAL CONDITIONS
WHICH PREVAILED IN ATHENS DURING HER EXISTENCE AS AN INDEPENDENT STATE.

INTRODUCTION.

During 1940-41 the deeds of the Greeks proclaimed their deathless heritage - consciousness of the spiritual values as ultimate, and the courage to assert their finality by the loss of life itself. The heroism of the spectacular winter campaign against the Italians, successfully completed on March 16, 1941, and the proud martyrdom that followed the German invasion of Greece on April 6 - an invasion foreseen by the Greek Government as the inevitable sequel to their yet unhesitating rejection of the Italian Minister's Ultimatum on October 28, 1940 - were alike expressions of the belief that the freedom of the spirit to pursue truth, enjoy beauty, and practise goodness is the proper privilege of man. Earlier in 1940, the conduct of the pilots in the Battle of Britain had similar significance. The implication was, however, more readily recognized in the exploits of the Greeks - perhaps because it had, so early as the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., been made explicit by men of their race - and (profession of Christianity apart) it is by the claim to be co-heirs with them in the legacy of ancient Greece that we make our most conscious acknowledgement of the supremacy of the spirit. That, inter, broadcasts by the B.B.C. of excerpts from the old Greek authors, and from those of our own poets who admired and understood the Greek genius, made their appeal to head and heart; the intellect was exercised, the imagination fired, and the will strengthened for the practice of the moral virtues.

Now, towards the end of 1944, in the post-war planning which is the concern of so many, little account seems to be taken of the belief in the supremacy of the spiritual values implicit in the action of those who, by choosing to resist Nazi aggression, made that planning possible. The emphasis is rather on material comfort, while education - a topic to which much lip-service is paid* - is by many regarded solely as a means to the end of wage-earning. That, at any rate, would seem to be the import of the stress laid on the practical value of subjects to be included in the curriculum. It is no doubt true that in banishing the fear of want from the minds of its citizens, in caring for the health of their bodies, in providing surroundings that delight the eye, a nation may practise the goodness in which it believes and create the beauty which it enjoys, but its efforts by way of legislation are necessarily/

In view of the present brevity of the future teacher's course of study at University and Training College to doubt the sincerity of current protestations of interest in the better schooling of the young is not unreasonable. How, one wonders, would the public react to a similarly curtailed course for physicians and surgeons? The impact of immature and hastily equipped minds on those of the rising generation is surely as distressing in its results as the unskilful diagnosis or treatment of physical disease?

This observation was made in 1944. My work suffered a second unavoidable interruption in January, 1945. By that time the preface had been completed, but the committing to paper of the inquiry proper was not begun until June of that year.)

INTRODUCTION (contd.).

ecessarily abortive so long as its individual members fail to recognize these values in their own way of life. Material well-being to those preoccupied in compassing it may seem to be the prerequisite of such recognition. But is it? That integrity of spirit is not dependent on bodily comfort or ease of mind has surely been demonstrated over and over again, not only by philosophers, poets, saints and martyrs whose names are known to history, but by the lives of countless men and women unknown save to their own immediate circle. The power to order one's days so that the principles which inform one's thoughts and actions are love of truth, respect for goodness, and joy in beauty comes from within, and is evoked and fostered by right training.¹ External circumstances may help or hinder its growth, but cannot give it birth. Nor is it necessarily prosperity that helps, adversity that hinders. Yet, as was earlier remarked, social reforms seem to be the practical outcome of this unconsciousness of values which they do not condition, but which they may affect by rendering it either keener² or more dull.³

These are the considerations and reflections that have led me to resume an inquiry, interrupted at the outbreak of war, into the purchasing power of the drachma in ancient Greece. It is knowledge of the drachma's purchasing power in ancient Greece that provides the clue to material conditions in Athens of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., and that these were it would be particularly interesting to know, since here, as perhaps nowhere else, the spiritual values were recognized, and found expression in the work of dramatists, architects, sculptors and thinkers unsurpassed, and seldom matched, in later ages.

It is, of course, impossible to make a categorical statement about the expression they found in the life of the man in the street, but that he is not unresponsive to the leading of his gifted contemporaries - so many, in so short a time, in so small a city - may readily be argued.

It was the man in the street who judged the plays of Aeschylus - Aeschylus who so grandly contrasts the transience of earthly greatness with the triumphant resurgence of man's spirit⁴ - of Sophocles, conscious of the divine power in man,⁵ of Euripides - the rationalist whose appeal is never to the intellect alone; to illustrate Euripides would defy the painter's skill.⁶ It was the man in the street to whom Pericles/

Educational reform should begin with the teachers, not with the taught. Here again, though higher salaries would reflect a juster estimate of the teacher's importance to the community, it is the teacher's own appreciation of the worth of his calling (with the consequent desire to equip himself for it as well as possible and the spurning of a hastily acquired paper qualification secured by means of easy options) that is required.

Free education, for example, affords to all the opportunity of increasing their understanding,³ but may lead to less eager use of the opportunity provided, in so far as instruction once prized as a privilege becomes, as a right, to be lightly regarded.

v. Persae 548 et seq.

v. Antigone 332-375

v. Hippolytus 208-222

INTRODUCTION (contd.).

ericles (or Thucydides; it makes no difference which) addressed the funeral Oration, and it was of the man in the street that he spoke. Apart from the implication that its hearers were men of considerable intellect, the subject matter of this speech considered as the utterance of a man who declared himself content if his history should be "judged useful by those inquirers who desire an exact knowledge of the past as an aid to the interpretation of the future, which in the course of human things must resemble if it does not reflect it" necessarily carries weight. The speech² gives a comprehensive picture of the city's life, and claims for the citizens at large a most liberal attitude of mind. Then again, it was the man in the street who appreciated the wit of Aristophanes. Athens, it must ever be remembered, was a small democratic state. The works of its great men were everyone's concern.

The outlook of its citizens is also reflected in their resumption of the building of the Erechtheum in 409 B.C., when the state had been at war for twenty-two years and had as lately as 413 B.C. suffered the shattering defeat in Sicily, a blow at once to the city's resources and to her pride. In the midst of such vicissitudes they resumed the fashioning of an exquisite temple in honour of Erechtheus their legendary king, of Poseidon, Athene's unsuccessful rival in the contest for Attica, and of Athene herself, guardian of the city.

For the moral and social, as distinct from the intellectual and aesthetic life of the citizens Pericles, as recorded by Thucydides, makes his claim, "We acknowledge the restraint of reverence; we are obedient to whomsoever is set in authority and to the laws, more especially to those which offer protection to the oppressed."³ It is true that a few years later the speech of Cleon denouncing the contemplated reversal of the resolution to put to death the whole adult male population of Mitylene represents the citizens in a different light, and that even in the speech of Diodotus urging the reversal the appeal is rather to frightened self-interest than to love of justice.⁴ Speeches, of course, reflect the temper of the speaker (whether Pericles or another) as well as that of his hearers. For Athenian conduct with regard to Mitylene there is, however, the independent testimony of Thucydides - "the Athenians...determined in the fury of the moment to put to death the whole adult male population of Mitylene, and to make slaves of the men and children. ...The morrow brought repentance with it, and reflection on the horrid cruelty of a decree which condemned a whole city to the fate merited only by the guilty. This was no sooner perceived by the Mitylenian ambassadors at Athens, and their Athenian supporters, than they moved the authorities to put the question again to the vote; and they the more easily consented to do as they themselves plainly saw that most of the citizens wished someone to give them an opportunity of reconsidering the matter."⁵ From the evidence of Thucydides it is/

Thucydides I.22, edited, in translation, by Sir R.W.Livingstone (Oxford, 1943).

b. II.35-46. ³ib. II.37. ⁴ib. III.37-40; ib. III.42-48.

b. III.36; the underlining is mine.

INTRODUCTION (contd.).

is clear that the first resolution was not the result of deliberation, that the citizens were not unanimously in favour of it, and that reflection produced a manifest change of feeling. In the voting which followed the speeches of Cleon and Diodotus it must be admitted that notwithstanding their change of feeling...the show of hands was almost equal".¹ The motion of Diodotus did, however, carry the day, and it is worth remarking Thucydides' reiteration of the Athenians' "change of feeling" earlier produced by private reflection. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that in 416 B.C. the Athenians fell far short of the claims made for them by Pericles, when in the Melian debate their envoys said, "You know and we know as practical men, that the question of justice arises only between parties equal in strength, and that the strong do what they can, and the weak submit."² It is true, too, that in 399 B.C. the Athenians condemned Socrates to death, but again there were many dissentients, and perhaps the clearest tribute of all to the ordinary citizen's worth is to be found in the Apology; for the fundamental merit of his fellow-citizens is implied by Socrates even when he is discovering their misapprehensions. "Men of Athens," he says, "I am in jest perhaps, but obviously in affectionate jest, "I honour and love you; but I shall obey God rather than you..."³ The Athenians had, then, the honour and love of one who had "arrayed his soul not in some foreign attire, but in her own proper jewels, temperance and justice and courage and nobility, and truth".⁴ In error through ignorance and lack of reflection they might be, but in his eyes needing only the proper stimulus to reveal their latent goodness: "I am a sort of gadfly given to the state by God; and the state is a great and noble steed who is hardy in his motions owing to his very size, and requires to be stirred up in life."⁵ The belief in the innate worth of the Athenians, and in their capacity for responding to right leading, manifested by men of such integrity as Pericles and Socrates cannot be set lightly aside. It must be remembered too, that when later in the fourth century B.C. Demosthenes reproaches the Athenians by contrasting present conduct which he deplains with past conduct approved by Pericles and Demosthenes alike, no contrast owes at least some of its violence to the vehemence of Demosthenes' pleading of his cause. After all, it is to the fourth century that Plato (427-348 B.C.) and Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) belong. When it is remembered that these great exponents of the good life were teachers as well as writers, and teachers of such repute that the groves in which they taught, the Academy and the Lyceum, gave their names to the schools of philosophy which they originated, it is a reasonable assumption that Athens being as it was a small city state, a fair proportion of its citizens was directly influenced by their teaching. A brief and general testimony to the character of the Athenian citizen of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. is to be found in the centre of his worship. What were the abstract qualities personified by Athene?

Thucydides III.49 ²ib. V.89. (in translation as on preceding page)
 Plato, Apology, 29, translated by Jowett (Oxford). ⁴Phaedo, 114,
 translated by Jowett. ⁵Apology, 31; the underlining is mine.

INTRODUCTION (contd.).

alour, skill, and knowledge as it issues in wisdom and understanding. In her they embodied a sense of duty to, and love of, their country; a highly developed appreciation of the arts, and distinguished performance in literature and science. Only to an extraordinary people was such a conception first possible.

It is, then, in the belief that examination of the material conditions of a people of preeminent genius is not irrelevant at a time when, in their preoccupation with its material welfare, our legislators seem to be losing sight of the nation's spiritual aspirations, that I resume this inquiry into the circumstances of the citizens of ancient Athens. Was the glory that was Greece achieved against a background of general prosperity? Were the bulk of the citizens rich, poor, or moderately well-off? With their public finance I am not concerned, except in so far as it throws light on the circumstances of the individual. That it has its own lesson for the modern world Professor Michell has suggested,¹ and that it was in fact disastrous to the noblest of all states known in history" is the verdict of Andreades.² The inherent weaknesses of their financial system, and the morals which these may point, fall, however, outside the scope of this inquiry. Its object is rather to determine, if possible, what measure of comfort might have fallen to one's lot had one lived "a man Hellenic doing that which there was done,

There among the sons of Athens, not a stranger but a son."³

It is well to remark at the outset that since the standard of living varies from age to age,⁴ and "rich" and "poor" take colour accordingly, the only meaning of these words directly intelligible to the modern, or any other mind, is appropriate to its own day;⁵ it is represented as the having-so-much of an income when the majority of one's fellows have so-much-less, or by the having of an income that will provide comforts that the majority of one's fellows are denied. The fact which implication of the adjective "wealthy" to Cephalus and to the father of Pericles represents is their possession of incomes x times greater than those of the majority of their fellows; and it is knowledge, gained by investigation, of what x stands for that invests the adjective with meaning; but it is estimate by the standard of one's own day that/

the Economics of Ancient Greece, by H. Michell, p. 352 et seq.

quoted by Professor Michell, ib. p. 393

Hilhellene, by Myers.

and possibly from country to country. What is true of difference in time may also be true of difference in place.

and country.

the Oxford Companion to Classical Literature s.v. Lysias, and s.v. Demosthenes.

INTRODUCTION (contd.).

that renders that meaning intelligible. If "rich" today denotes possession of an income of £2,000 as against an income of \$120,* for the modern mind comparison of x with 16% is the first step towards an understanding of what it meant to be rich in Ancient Greece (as indicating the relative gulf between rich and poor), but proper understanding demands such knowledge of the drachma's purchasing power as will serve to show with what measure of the necessities common to both ages an income x times greater than that of his fellows could provide him.

These considerations serve to define the questions which must be answered if the material conditions which prevailed in ancient Athens are to be understood. What did it mean to be rich or poor (a) in respect of contemporary standards, (b) in respect of the standards of today? Or, more particularly, how far in advance of the income of his fellows was that of the rich man? With what degree of contemporary comfort could it provide him? How does the share of necessities common to both ages with which it could provide him compare with the share of these which the majority can afford today? The object of the inquiry as set out in the title now resolves itself into the determination of whether, and to what extent on the evidence available, these questions admit of an answer.

It remains to remark on the limits set to the inquiry. The result to which one looks at the outset of an undertaking of this sort - however difficult of achievement it may subsequently prove - is increase in the truthfulness of a picture. The picture in the present instance is of Athens from her victory over the Persians in 490/89 B.C. to her defeat and loss of independence at the hands of Macedon in 262/1 B.C.

v. p. 113. The preface was written (v. p. i) in December, 1944, but the figures here quoted have been brought up to date and reflect existing conditions (September, 1946).

The following table may be conveniently inserted here:

8 chalci	= obolus
6 oboli	= drachma
100 drachmae	= mina
60 minae	= talentum

FOOD.

Food, shelter and clothing, the necessities of life - now, as in the days when Socrates invited his friends to construct in their argument a city from its beginning' - are the proper matter of the present inquiry. What records are there of the prices of these necessities in Athens of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.? Are they such that a reasonable conjecture of, for example, variation in the cost of living may be based on them? Is it possible, by examining recorded incomes, and fortunes in light of them, to make any statement about the standard of living of the fifth and fourth century Athenian?

First, what kind of food did the Athenian eat? In reviewing the life of the citizens in the city of his own constructing, Socrates twice provokes Glaucon to criticism of the diet he details. Barley-cake (μάζα),² wheat bread (ἄρος),³ and wine (οἶνος). Glaucon thinks dry fare; and the countryman's relish (ῥυπον) of salt (ἅλς), olives (ἐλαίαι), cheese (τυρός) and vegetables (βολβοί; λαχάννα) which Socrates concedes, and his dessert (εὐαγήματα) of figs (σύκα), peas (ἐρέριγθοί), beans (κύαμοι), roasted mulberries (μύετα) and acorns (φηγοί), he derides as hog-wash; a wretched contrast, he implies, to the relish and dessert actually enjoyed by his own fellow citizens. Such rich dishes and sweetmeats of various kinds, requiring as they do the services of cooks and confectioners, and the flesh of all kinds of cattle (βοσκήματα),⁴ Socrates thinks characteristic of a luxurious city.

While it seems that Socrates is himself conscious of a contrast between the simplicity of the life he pictures and life as it is lived by his Athenian contemporaries, or at any rate by some of them, it must be remembered that Glaucon belonged to a leading Athenian family, and that what to him were the "ordinary dishes and dessert of modern life" (ψα ἅπρε καὶ οἱ νῦν ἔχουσι)⁵ might well be extraordinary to others who with Socrates could be described as "having no money".⁶ Thus no positive conclusion about the content of the diet of his fellow citizens in general can be drawn from Glaucon's conversation with Socrates. It does, however, suggest that by certain contemporary Athenian standards (those of Glaucon and others like him) citizens whose fare resembled that described by Socrates were to be judged wretched indeed.⁷

That there were, nevertheless, many such, appears to be sufficiently testified by Aristophanes, whose Wasps (422 B.C.) and Peace (421 B.C.) illustrate the conditions of the time at which the conversation in the public may be supposed to have taken place.⁸ The references to barley-/

public 369 C,D, et seq.

de from barley meal (ἄλφιτα) ground from the grain (κεῖθαί).

de from wheat meal (ἄλευρα) ground from the grain (πνεοί).

the Acharnians, Dicaeopolis says of the Megarian's pigs νῆ τὸν Δι' ὀστεῖω τῷ βοσκήματι.

public 372 E, translated by A.D.Lindsay.

public 337 D, 338 B; Apology 38.

public 372 D.

ato, the Man and his Work, by Taylor pp. 263-4

OOD.

barley-cake ($\mu\alpha\sigma\alpha$), to the meal from which it was made ($\alpha\lambda\phi\iota\tau\alpha$), and the grain ($\kappa\epsilon\iota\theta\alpha\iota$), both in the Wasps and in the Peace, variously suggest that, supplemented by the less common wheat bread ($\alpha\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$), it was the staple food of the ordinary citizen. This is implicit in the reply given by Trygaeus to his servant, when on the arrival of Peace among men he asks, "Shall I give her something to eat?" "Nothing," answers Trygaeus - hastily considering all there is to offer - "for she won't want to eat either wheat bread or barley-cake, accustomed as she always has been to lap up ambrosia among the gods above."¹ Trygaeus was, of course, a countryman, but the townsmen, the chorus of Dicasts in the Wasps, mention barley meal ($\alpha\lambda\phi\iota\tau\alpha$) as the first necessity to be provided for themselves and their households from their scanty pay.² Again in the Wasps, when Philocleon, the indefatigable jurymen, describes the blandishments used by wife and daughter to relieve him of his day's pay, there is a jest characteristic of Aristophanes in the wife's referring as a delicacy the everyday fare of the audience - "and my life sets before me a lightly mixed barley-cake ($\mu\alpha\sigma\alpha$) to coax me, and when sitting down beside me takes no denial, bidding me, "Eat every bit of it; gobble it all up!"³ So, too, in the Peace, when Trygaeus and the chorus vie with one another in calling down curses on warmongers and an ill-fortune is invoked on any spear-maker or retailer of shields who wants war for his own profit - "May he be beaten by robbers and eat nothing but barley ($\kappa\epsilon\iota\theta\alpha\iota$)!"⁴ - the joke lies, perhaps, in consigning him unexpectedly to the common fate. What it is, a hearty one, is, of course, implied. Disparagement of their own all too familiar diet is rarely the insinuation to amuse an Athenian audience hearing Hermes demonstrate against the Argives' lack of cooperation in unearthing Peace. "Nor have these Argives done any pulling this long time; indeed, we've been laughing at those who are exhausting themselves; and that, even by both sides they've been paid in barley meal."⁵ ($\alpha\lambda\phi\iota\tau\alpha$) Clearly ridiculous is the coupling of barley-cake ($\mu\alpha\sigma\alpha$) with a perfect banquet ($\tau\alpha\nu\delta\alpha\sigma\iota\alpha$) in the simile in which Hermes says of the chorus of countrymen, who have on the advent of Peace exchanged their spears for pruning hooks and stand ready to return to their fields - "Heavens! How splendid their dense array appears! How solid and formidable, like a barley-cake or a perfect banquet!"⁶ Yet, indulge himself and his audience as he will in goodhumoured grumbling at the monotony of wartime food, Aristophanes does not subscribe in earnest to Glaucon's poor opinion of such simple fare. The prayer of the Chorus at the end of the play is sincere enough. Here barley ($\kappa\epsilon\iota\theta\alpha\iota$), wine, and figs, in abundance, rank with the lost blessings which, with the return of Peace, they may hope to recover.⁷

From the evidence of Aristophanes it seems that the diet described by Glaucon was at once more common and (except in jest) less distasteful than Glaucon represents. Just as barley-cake, wheat bread, and wine seem after all to have been the mainstay of the ordinary citizen, so, too, /

- Peace 851.
- Wasps 300.
- Wasps 610.
- Peace 449.
- Peace 475.
- Peace 568.
- Peace 1320.

OOD.

oo, the countryman's relish ridiculed by Glaucon appears familiar and desirable enough to Aristophanes' audience. In the Peace, olives (ἐλάαι) are the objects of regretful longing.¹ In the Wasps, cheese (τυρός) is, in his attempt to create discontent with the common lot, listed by Pelycleon among the luxuries showered on the demagogues by the allies, in sharp contrast with the meagre fare available for the ordinary citizen.² To doubt the enormity of Labes' crime - the dog-defendant in the mock trial - lies in his theft of a commodity that sets the teeth of the audience watering, a large Sicilian cheese.³ In the Peace, the intensity of the desire of the Chorus to return to civilian life would be the more readily conveyed to their hearers, if the cheese and onions of campaigning, they so willingly relinquish, had been hard to come by in Athens.⁴ Of vegetables, garlic (σκόροδον) is evidently the one commonly used, for Pelycleon in the same passage of political satire, taunting the ordinary citizen represented by his father, says, "But as for you, for all your prying of the plashing oar, not one of your subjects gives you so much as a head of garlic for your boiled fish" - not so much, that is to say, as a very ordinary article of diet.⁵ His remark may have literal significance as well - wartime shortage of even the commonest accessories to the citizen's meal - since it is to garlic that Trygaeus, imploring Peace to fill the market with good things again, gives first place. Early cucumbers (σίκυοι) come next in his prayer.⁶ The figs (σύκα), peas (ἐρέβινθοι), roasted myrtleberries (μύρα) and acorns (φῆγοι), which Socrates suggests for dessert, likewise find a place in Aristophanes. In the Wasps, dried figs (ῥιγάδες) are represented as too expensive for the average citizen;⁷ though ordinarily not highly valued, to judge by the conversation of Trygaeus and the Crestmaker. As a concession to the labour expended on the crest, Trygaeus agrees to pay for it (in spite of the shame he feels in making so magnificent an offer!) three choenices of dried figs, which the Crestmaker thinks is just better than nothing. Trygaeus, however, calls the bargain off, for the crest is losing its hairs; he would give for it not even a single dried fig.⁸ In the Peace, fresh figs (σύκα) and myrtleberries (μύρα) are among the remembered delights of pre-war days. But sir," says Trygaeus to the Chorus, "calling to mind the old way of life which in the old days she provided for us, those fruitcakes (παλάσια), figs (σύκα), myrtleberries (μύρα), the sweet new wine, the bed of violets beside the well, and the olives (ἐλάαι) that we pine for - in return for these, now greet this goddess!"⁹ Figs, too, form the dessert with which one honours a visitor.¹⁰ The roasting of peas (ἐρέβινθοι) and acorns (φῆγοι) by their own firesides is what the war-weary Chorus look forward to. "Lentils (φακκοί), not mentioned by Socrates, were clearly, from Aristophanes, another humble but favourite dish."¹²

There are, of course, in Aristophanes references to foodstuffs other than those detailed by Socrates - possibly Glaucon had some of them in/

Peace 571; ²Wasps 1675; ³Wasps 907; ⁴Peace 1127; ⁵Wasps 1679; Peace 999; ⁷Wasps 291; ⁸Peace 1215; ⁹Peace 571; ¹⁰Peace 1145; ¹¹Peace 1130; Wasps, e.g. 811; cf. Plutus 1004.

OOD.

a mind - but, with the exception of dried fish (τῆλεχος)¹ and anchovies (μεμπεδάδες; ὑφύαι),² they were not commonly included in the menu of the ordinary citizen, nor, it seems, were many of them available at that time even for the fastidious. Attic honey was prohibitive; it cost more than the juror's pay for the day.³ Honey, too, is among the luxuries which Pelycleon declares are the privilege of those in office.⁴ Apples (μῆλα) and pomegranates (ἐσθιά) were delights that Peace might restore.⁵ It is true that in the Wasps they are represented as the daily fare of Arynias, but, if they were in fact commodities rarely available at the time of the play's presentation, that would serve to represent as all the more sumptuous the dinner of the gourmand, with which Arynias' customary meal is contrasted.⁶ The game which Trygaeus longs to see filling the market again - geese (χῆνες), ducks (ῥήττα), woodpigeons (φάρτα), and sandpipers (ροχίλοι) - is obviously a delicacy, as are eels from Lake Copais, though the ordinary citizen hoped that in post-war Athens they may be his concern, not the gourmand's only.⁷ Earlier in the play, when the Chorus is enumerating the sweets of peace, thrushes (κίχλα) and small sheep (πεοβάτια) are mentioned.⁸ The meat (κρέας) that would fall to the lot of the members of the boule at the public entertainment of a state guest is the envy of Trygaeus, and presumably of the audience.⁹ In a properly ordered world, hare (λαγῶς) - a delicacy in the imperfect present served, for example, at a wedding feast)¹⁰ - would be the citizen's daily food."

Is it to be supposed, then, that Glaucon's unfavourable comparison of the fare outlined by Socrates for the citizens of his ideal city with that to which his fellow Athenians are accustomed, reflects a change in conditions between the last twenty years of the fifth century, when, on the contemporary evidence of the Wasps and the Peace, Glaucon's criticism seems open to dispute, and the opening years of the fourth century, when the reputed conversation of an earlier day¹² was recorded in the Republic? When Glaucon speaks of "the ordinary dishes and dessert of modern life", is Plato in mind not the wartime conditions of his own childhood, but the conditions existing some thirty or forty years later when he was writing? Does Glaucon's remonstrance reflect a rapid increase in prosperity in post-war Athens?

Again Aristophanes provides contemporary evidence in the Ecclesiazusae (392 B.C.) and the Plutus (388 B.C.). Two passages in the Ecclesiazusae are difficult to assess. In one, Aristophanes points a contrast between the simplicity of the good old days - the citizen content with a goatskin of wine, a loaf of bread (ἄρτος), two onions (κεράμυα), and three olives (ἐλάαι) freely offering his services to the state - and the manners of contemporary Athenians who will do nothing without payment.¹³ It is though the implication is that men have grown luxurious, luxury was certainly not to be had for three obols. The other - Praxagora's picture of life free from existing inequalities - is (apart from the fish) so exact a replica of Socrates' picture of an ideal order of society - everyone will have everything: wheat bread (ἄρτος), slices of salt/

¹ Wasps 491; ² Peace 563; ³ Peace 252; ⁴ Wasps 676; ⁵ Peace 999; ⁶ Wasps 1268; ⁷ Peace 531; ⁸ Peace 1195; 1197; ⁹ Peace 715; ¹⁰ Peace 1196 cf. 1150; ¹¹ Wasps 708-11; ¹² Plato, the Man and his Work, p. 20; ¹³ Ecclesiazusae 303.

DOD.

alt fish (τεμάχη), barley-cake (μῆλα), wine (οἶνος), garlands and peas (ἐέβριθοι) - that one suspects Aristophanes of sympathy with Glaucon, which finds its expression in deliberate ridicule. Yet, from other references to food in the Ecclesiazusae and in the Plutus - references less wistful,² perhaps, than those in the last plays of the war years, and suggesting a relaxation of stringency - there does not appear to have been any great change in the character of the average Athenian's diet. The sameness of their culinary tasks throughout the years - the roasting of grain and baking of cheese-cakes - is offered as an instance of the conservatism of Athenian women.³ Accessories are perhaps less scarce, at still of the same kind. It is now possible to contemplate amusedly, as a fine for late-coming, peas (ἐέβριθοι) and wine (οἶνος) in sufficient quantity for the entertainment of the conspiring Chorus, however improbable that any of the women would allow herself to incur it. As a penalty it proved an effective deterrent. Anchovies (τεῖχιδες), the poor man's relish,⁴ are plentiful enough for a man to eat his fill of them,⁵ but it is still at a state banquet of the imagination that dices of salt fish (τεμάχη), hares (λαγῶ), pea soup (ῥίτυος), cakes (ῥοπαῖα), and sweets (τεαγῆματα) are encountered. The inevitable barley-cake (μῆλα), too, finds a place.⁶ Earlier in the play, the intention of Lepyrus to expend his three obols on wheat (πνεοί) may indicate a welcome change from the customary barley.⁷ In the Plutus, however, barley meal (ἄλφιτα) has lost none of its importance for the Athenian citizen. It is in terms of barley meal that prosperity, or the lack of it, is assessed. The virtuous poor - for Wealth is blind - have none,⁸ but, wealth's sight restored, find satisfaction in thought of a bin never again empty. A garner full of barley meal, jars full of wine, a loft full of dried figs (ῥοχάδες) bespeak prosperity.⁹ In interesting contrast to the view expressed by Glaucon, Chremylus argues that so long as a man has wheat bread (ἄετος) and barley-cake (μῆλα) he is not really poor. Radish (ῥαφανίς) leaves and mallow (μαλάχη) stalks are the poor man's bread and barley-cake. While days of universal abundance are still a desideratum, references to food in the Plutus, as in the Ecclesiazusae, are more light-hearted than those in the Wasps and Peace. To persuade wealth that he is indisputably the most powerful force of all, Chremylus urges that wealth is the only thing of which a man can never have enough. However insatiable his other desires may seem, a limit can be set to them. To prove his point, he particularizes. So does his slave Carion. Of all other things," says Chremylus, "a man may have a surfeit. Of love - "

ar. Of loaves (ἄετοι) -
 ar. Of art -
 ar. Of sweets (τεαγῆματα) -
 ar. Of honour -
 ar. Cheese-cakes (πλακοῦντες) -
 ar. Courage -
 ar. Dried figs (ῥοχάδες) -
 ar. Ambition -
 ar. Barley-cake (μῆλα) -/

Ecclesiazusae 605-6; ²The mental pictures of peace and plenty in Aristophanes war plays do suggest a certain nostalgia. One is reminded of Osbert Sitwell's essay on stage meals: "I write, moreover, in years of war and shortage, when all things that we can eat appear to possess more than their actual value, and this, in turn, bestows on their counterfeits upon stage tables a corresponding increase in the apish mockery of their enticement..." (The Banquets of Tantalus, in Sing high! sing low!); ³Ecclesiazusae 221; ⁴cf. τεῖχιδας ὀψώνησ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, as the mark of a thrifty person. (Eupolis' Flatterers 16); ⁵Ecclesiazusae 56; ⁶ib. 841; ⁷ib. 547; ⁸Plutus 218; ⁹ib. 762; ¹⁰ib. 807; ¹¹ib. 543.

FOOD.

Car. Barley-cake (μᾶζα) -

Chrem. Command -

Car. Lentils (φακῆ) - 'The slave's instances are all, significantly, of foodstuffs. Even though the implication is that these are the last things of which Carion can imagine himself and his audience having too much, the suggestion of a possible surfeit would have been a poor joke to an audience still suffering any serious deprivation. Inclusion of the last two items on the list may be a backward glance, amused in retrospect, at the unvarying fare of a period now fortunately past. An abundance of cheese-cakes, sweets and figs was, however, probably still beyond the reach of most. Cakes (φθόεις) and dried figs (ἰσχάδες) are still delicacies eagerly seized by the priest of Aesculapius.² Cheese-cakes (πλακοῦντες), sweets (τελῆματα), and cream-cakes (ἐμμητες) can be bought only by the wealthy.³ Topsy-cake (οἶνοῦττα), honey (μέλι), and dried figs (ἰσχάδες) are offerings acceptable to the god Hermes.⁴ Carion the slave, is careful of his food all through. His little bit of meat (κεράδιον) brought from the sacrifice is still precious,⁵ though it is possible for him - as one suspects it might not have been towards the end of the fifth century - to rummage at home for bread (ἄρτος) and meat (κρέας), when his master's back is turned.⁶ The cooking of a great lot of fish and meat, however, (πολὺν χεῖμα τεμαχῶν καὶ κρεῶν)⁷ marks the prosperous state in which Chremylus finds himself once Wealth has recovered his sight and rewards the virtuous as they deserve. Finally, the view that Glaucon's attitude was that of a better-off minority finds support in the remark which Chremylus makes about the young man grown suddenly independent and particular with the accession of wealth - "Now he's well-off he's lost his fondness for lentils; though need made him eat up anything once."⁸

Value attaches to Aristophanes' evidence for various reasons. What men laugh at is largely determined by the circumstances of their daily existence. Comedy, provided what its author writes in jest is not interpreted as earnest, is, therefore, a reliable guide to the reconstruction of its age. Further, the writer of comedy relies on the immediate response of his audience, whose temper he must accurately gauge. Thus the accident of the composition of Aristophanes' audience - his plays were witnessed by the citizen body at large - makes his work a peculiarly fruitful commentary on the typical Athenian of his day. He was writing necessarily for the amusement of the many; his appeal had, therefore, to be general; it is surely fair to assume that contemporary conditions reflected in his jests were representative of the life of the community as a whole.

The other plays of Aristophanes have also their relevant passages. In the Acharnians (425 B.C.) corn (σίτος), salt (ἅλς), and garlic (ἀκρόβοδον) are commodities about which a man naturally inquires before proceeding to other business.⁹ Salt and garlic are mentioned in a characteristic list of merchandise;¹⁰ for a bunch of garlic and a choenix of salt the Megarian is prepared to barter his two make-believe pigs; "salt flavoured with thyme (ἅλς θυμιαί) and onions (κεράμυα), in poor contrast certainly to slices of salt fish (τεμάχην), woodpigeons (φάρται), thrushes (κίχλαι) done to a turn, and a dish of hares (ἀεκάριον τῶν λαχρῶν κρεῶν),¹¹ are evidently familiar to the audience as the soldier's usual fare, /

Tutus 198 ff.; ²ib. 677; ³ib. 995 ff.; ⁴ib. 1120; ⁵ib. 227; ⁶ib. 318; ⁷ib. 894; ⁸ib. 1004; ⁹Acharnians 758; ¹⁰ib. 515; ¹¹ib. 813; ¹²ib. 1099.

OD.

re, while the fish and game, the ὄψον to be enjoyed by Dicaeopolis as the result of the separate peace he has made, is a concession to their selfish thinking. Both the marketing of the game and eels by the Boeotian, and the nice preparation of his purchases by Dicaeopolis for the feast,² are dealt with in what one must suppose was to the audience, tantalizing detail. Thrushes (κίχλαι),³ blackbirds (κόψιχοι),⁴ an eel (ἐγχελυσ),⁵ tripe in honey (κατάχει σὺ τῆς χορδῆς τὸ μέλι),⁶ and little fish (σηπίαι)⁷ were delicacies singled out by Dicaeopolis for the titillation of the appetite. In the real world, however, meat was no doubt scarce and eagerly welcomed, since it is by means of a dish of meat, sent as a gift from his wedding feast, that the bridegroom hopes to persuade Dicaeopolis to spare him just a tiny drop of the precious peace which Dicaeopolis alone possesses.⁸ It must have been on special occasions that the average citizen purchased the young hare (λαγῶδιον) or young pig (χοιρίδιον) mentioned in the list of goods commonly marketed before the war.⁹ Sacrifice seems generally to have been at least the ostensible reason for the purchase of a pig.¹⁰ Anchovies (ἀνθοί) and sprats (τεχίδες) and dried fish (τάρχος)¹¹ were what ordinary life had to offer, as were mullet (σκόροδον), olives (ἐλάαι) and onions (κεδύμνα).¹² Although the Boeotian's game is listed in detail, his vegetables (λάχανα) are not. More familiar is less alluring. Cucumber (σίκυος),¹³ however, is mentioned earlier as desirable, though lettuce (σκάνδιον) was of small count.¹⁴ At the offer of peas (ερέβινθοι) and dried figs (ισχίδες) the little human pigs squeal with delight.¹⁵ Sweets (τεγγήματα) and cakes - sesame (πλάκοδντες), sesame (σησαμοδντες), sesame and honey (ῥεῖα), and others made with specially refined flour (ἀμυλοι) - belong to the banquet of fancy to which Dicaeopolis is invited.¹⁶ In the Knights (424 C.), Cleon is accused of appropriating bread (ἄρτος), meat (κέας), and salt fish (τέμαχος) from the public board.¹⁷ It is with promises of offered bread (ἄρτοι) to be handed over to Demos that the Sausageseller seeks to win the popular favour,¹⁸ and when Demos petulantly refuses to beajoled by Cleon's promise of an assured daily allowance of barley (εἰθαί) - "I can't stand hearing about barley," he says - and does not respond to an amended offer of barley meal (ἄλφιτα) ready ground, the Sausageseller proposes to supply little barley-cakes (μαζίσκαι).¹⁹ Thoroughly kneaded, and a relish of roast meat (ὄψον ὀπτόν).²⁰ Later, when they vie with each other in plying Demos with dishes likely to win him - among them pea soup (ἐννος) and salt fish (τέμαχος) - the Sausageseller gives the way to victory by distracting Cleon's attention long enough to seize, and offer as his own gift, a dish of hare (λαγῶα) which Cleon had wanted to present. He finally prevails by exhibiting to Demos a great lot of cake (ῥσον τὸ χεῖμα τοῦ πλάκοδντος) which Cleon had secreted for himself.²¹ The public interest in a dish of lentils (φακί), and in barley meal (ἄλφιτα), is earlier exploited by the Sausageseller when he strives to outdo Cleon in the production of arresting oracles.²² These are subjects dear to the citizen's heart. Then a pleasant flight of fancy inspires him to picture Demos licking sugar from iced cakes (λεῖχων ἰψάστα) while he tries cases in an ideal future.²³ While Cleon and the Sausageseller can vaunt their prowess in being able to trans-act public/

Charnians 860; ²ib. 1003-1017, 1040-1047; ³ib. 961, 1007; ⁴ib. 970; ⁵ib. 962, cf. 1041; ⁶ib. 1006; ⁷ib. 1040; ⁸ib. 1040; ⁹ib. 1049; ¹⁰ib. 515; ¹¹ib. 764; ¹²ib. 901; ¹³ib. 554; ¹⁴ib. 967; ¹⁵ib. 550; ¹⁶ib. 515; ¹⁷ib. 447; ¹⁸ib. 800; ¹⁹ib. 1091; ²⁰Knights 282; ²¹ib. 777; ²²ib. 1101; ²³ib. 1166-1228; ²⁴ib. 1007; ²⁵ib. 1089.

OD.

public business, the one after a hearty meal of hot tunnies (θύνην καὶ θαλασσῶν),
 the other after ox tripe (ὄνυστρον ῥόδον) and pig's tripe (κοιλία χοίρου),
 the ordinary citizen is represented as so wildly elated at word of a
 lot of anchovies (ἀνχούαι) that he is ready to abandon his part in state
 affairs for the day. Indeed it is an event worthy - as would be also a
 superabundance of sprats (τευχίδες) - a thanksgiving sacrifice of Homeric
 proportions.² Garlic (σκόροδον) and onions (κεράμυα) again appear as the
 equivalent of the modern soldier's bully beef.³ In the Clouds (423 B.C.),
 the preoccupation of the citizen with securing sufficient barley meal for
 his needs is reflected in Strepsiades' instant reaction to Socrates'
 worry about subjects of study. "Well, what do you want to learn first?"
 asks Socrates, "About measures, or verses or rhythms?" and Strepsiades at
 once replies, "Why, measures for me; for only the other day I was done
 up of two choinices of barley meal by a dealer."⁴ In the Birds (414 B.C.)
 the strong desire for anchovies (ἀνχούαι) and pea soup (ἐῖνος) betrays the
 poet's mortal past.⁵ Finches (σπίννοι), thrushes (κίχλακι), blackbirds
 (πύργοι), and pigeons (περιστέραι) are mentioned as birds that the
 Plover sells,⁶ but, when Pisetaerus is seasoning his dish of miscreant
 birds with silphium (σίλφιον) and garnishing it with cheese (τυρός), the
 dish is luxury enough to excite the envy of the onlookers.⁷ In the
 Lysistrata (411 B.C.), bread is the boon which would rejoice the man with
 his small children and household slaves to feed.⁸ The deserted husbands,
 finding for themselves, have to do their own marketing. They are seen
 among the vegetables (λάχανα); buying small fish (κορακίνοι) or pease-
 pudding (λέκιθος); stuffing themselves with dried figs (ῥοχάδες) snatched
 from the dealer's stall.⁹ The belligerent women, threatening any would-be
 traitor with certain death, represent a loss of life as the loss of
 garlic (σκόροδον) and beans (κύαμοι).¹⁰ Pea soup (ἐῖνος) and a sucking pig
 (ελαφάκιον) - sacrificed "so that you'll have meat to eat tender and
 cheap" - are proper compliments to one's guests.¹¹ As for Boeotian eels,
 they must be saved, though all the Boeotians perish!¹² In the Thesmophoria-
 zusae (411 B.C.), the household stores are represented by barley meal
 (ἀνίπτα), oil (ἐλαιον) and wine (οἶνος).¹³ In the Frogs (405 B.C.), loaves
 (ἄρτοι), two or three pots of pea soup (χύτεαι ἐῖνους δύο ἢ τρεῖς), an ox
 roasted whole, cheese-cakes (πλακοῦντες) and other small cakes (κόλλαροι)
 are prepared by Persephone's order against the supposed return of
 Orpheus to Hades, since she knew he was fond of his food. Wild fowl (κεῖα
 ῥιθεία), sweets (τεαγήματα) and specially sweet wine (οἶνος ἀνεκελευν-
 νύκωτος) were also held in readiness.¹⁴ Memory of his earlier visit was
 fresh in the minds of two women who kept an eating-house - bread (ἄρτος),
 pieces of meat (κεῖα), garlic (σκόροδον), dried fish (τάειχος) and green
 pease (τυρός χλωρός) had been consumed in tremendous quantities.¹⁵ Pig's
 spleen tempts Dionysus and his slave, Xanthus, to theft.¹⁶ The ordinary
 household is concerned with trifles such as a sprat (μακρίς), or garlic
 (σκόροδον), or an olive (ἐλλά).¹⁷ To frequent the fish-market needed
 brains.¹⁸

Knights 354; ²ib. 644; ³ib. 600; ⁴Clouds 636; ⁵Birds 75; ⁶ib. 1080;
 ib. 1580; ⁷Lysistrata 1203; ⁸ib. 559; ⁹ib. 687; ¹⁰ib. 1060; ¹¹ib. 36;
 Thesmophoriazusae 418; ¹²Frogs 503-511; ¹³ib. 549-562; ¹⁴ib. 338;
 ib. 980-988; ¹⁵ib. 1065-1068.

OOD.

The conclusions to which consideration of these allusions in Aristophanes leads are briefly these: Barley and wheat, whether in the form of meal and flour or of bread and barley-cake, were the commodities of first importance in the Athenian larder. Lack of these spelt poverty; the farther removed from want a man was, the greater abundance of these he had. Varying degrees of prosperity were marked by the quality and quantity of the accompanying foods. Vegetables, green, root and pulse - the latter an advance on the former - were the common complement. Vegetables - green and root at least - were the staple food of the poor.¹) Cheese and olives were also used. Popular, too, were the more ordinary kinds of fish - dried fish, sprats, anchovies, and slices of larger salted varieties. For the average citizen meat meant festivity. Crates, in one of Xenophon's reminiscences, says "Everyone eats something cooked (ῥῥον)² with his bread, when he has it" - which implies that for some this was not a daily occurrence - "But I don't suppose a man merits the name 'epicure' (ῥοφάγος) on that account."³ The prayer of the man in the street is for a good harvest (πολυκαρπία). The prayer of the true epicure would be for a plentiful supply of meat, game and fish for the cook's pot (πολυοψία).⁴ Besides such fare was expensive.⁵ Eels, the better kinds of fish, and wildfowl were for the well-to-do. Fruit - most often figs - honey and cakes were the dessert of those who could afford them.

Lack of the original context of the fragments of other writers of comedy preserved by Athenaeus (fl. A.D. 200) makes their interpretation more problematic. Similar lists in Aristophanes suggest that the quotation from one or other of his sons, Nicostratus or Philetærus, describing the purchase of a hare (δαρύποδα), ducklings (νηττία), thrushes (κίχλαι), blackbirds (κόψιχοι) and other small birds (δενιθάκια) "to have a decent, but not an extravagant table" - is preparation for a dinner-party, not for the ordinary day's meal.⁶ No doubt the enumeration from Antiphanes (fl. 387 B.C.) of "honey (μέλι), partridges (πέδικες), woodpigeons (ψάτται), ducks (νήτται), geese (χῆνες), starlings (ψάεις), jay (κίττα), a rook (κολοίος), a blackbird (κόψιχος), a quail (τέτυξ), a hen (δενιθῆλα)" relates to a festive occasion.⁷ It is as a course at dinner-party - guests are mentioned - that Teleclides, a contemporary of Aristophanes, speaks of thrushes and cheese-cakes.⁸ It seems likely that the instructions given by Archestratus - a Sicilian writer on cookery, in parody of the epic, contemporary with Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) for the provision of tripe, game, Athenian cheese-cakes and Attic honey are for a fashionable dinner in his native Syracuse or Gela, cities/

cf. p. 5, n. 11. (It is, perhaps, worth remarking that radishes, onions and garlic were the food of the workmen employed on the pyramid of Cheops in the eighth century B.C. - Herodotus II. 125.)

The contrast of πολυοψία with πολυκαρπία (v. note 3) suggests the specific opposition of meat and bread, but since the word 'meat' excludes fish and poultry which ῥῥον includes, I have chosen a less restricted rendering. Similarly, since πολυκαρπία is applicable to the season's yield of any natural product, I have used the word 'harvest' in interpreting Socrates' remark.

Memorabilia 3.14.2; ⁴ib. 3.14.3; ⁵ib. 3.14.1; ⁶Athenaeus II.71, II.221K; ⁷ib. II.71, II.130K, cf. ib. IV.7, II.151K (Anaxandrides fl. 376 B.C.); ⁸ib. II.68.

OOD.

ities noted for their wealth, and that his condemnation of other foods which he lists - peas (ῥεβένθοι), beans (κόκκοι), apples (μήλα), and dried figs (ῥοχάδες) - as proof of wretched poverty (πτωχεύει παρ' αὐτοῦ) may be a contemptuous reference to the normal fare of the ordinary Athenian citizen.¹ At any rate Antiphanes (fl. 385/4 B.C.) finds in the financial worries of the fourth century citizen a subject for his humour. There is no security for the citizen; taxes, litigation, the expenses of public life, the hazards of the sea or of the soldier's life, thieving domestics make the only certainty the day's meal; and even that is no certainty till it is safely eaten - guests may drop in to devour what a man has ordered for himself.² And indeed the frugality of the Greeks is a stock joke. Antiphanes holds them up to ridicule as keepers of a poor table (μικροτεῖα), vegetarians (φυλλοτεῖα), for the most part indulging only in small scraps of meat (μικρὰ κρέα).³ A character in a play by Alexis (fl. 356 B.C.) feels that for a Thessalian guest he must be really clever cooks; that he cannot treat him sparingly (ἀπηνειώμενος) in Attic fashion (Ἀττικῶς).⁴ The Attic host, according to Lynceus (fl. 400 B.C.), may satisfy the eye of his guest with a variety of dishes - garlic, shellfish of different kinds on separate plates, a cake - but not his hunger. There is not enough of each for both, but while one helps himself to one dish the other empties another. Better to have a more restricted choice, it is suggested, but enough for each guest of every dish offered.⁵

Fish seems to have become increasingly popular, so that Athenaeus, noting the comic poet Myrtilus (fl. in the latter half of the fifth century B.C.), remarks (as Plutarch did before him⁶) that while in theory anything other than the staple foods is called ἔψον, in practice ἔψον for the Athenian means fish.⁷ He has certainly preserved evidence of its popularity in the fourth century. Amphis (fl. 350 B.C.) - incidentally substantiating Aristophanes' statement that the radish is the poor man's food - thinks that the man who is set, on buying radishes when he can have real fish is mad (ῥοχὰς ἀγοράζων ἔψον, ἔσθ' ὅν ἀπολαύειν ἔχον ἁληθινὴν ἐκφανίδα).⁸ In a play by Alexis (fl. 356 B.C.) a cook soliloquizes on the preparation of fish.⁹ In another, where a reluctant subscriber insists on hearing the menu read over before he parts with his money, six of the seven items are fish.¹⁰ Certain fish, however, - the middle-cut and tail of the tunny (ποχάστερον θύρακος), the head of a pike (κεφάλον ἀγρέακος), a conger (γύγας), cuttlefish (καλαμάρι) - are still, according to Eriphus (fl. 350 B.C.) too expensive for the poor.¹¹ Timocles, too, writing in the second half of the fourth century B.C., ridicules the parasite Corydus, who, pressed for want of an invitation, to provide his own dinner, eyed the eels (ἄγχεαγίς), tunnies (θύρακις), rays (ῥαγέας) and crayfish (κράκαροι), at, with half an obol in his pocket, had to content himself with anchovies (μυσεκάδες).¹² Writing in the third century B.C. on intrinsic worth, Chrysippus the philosopher (280-204 B.C.) says that at Athens the anchovy - so frequently mentioned by Aristophanes - was called the poor man's fish (ἄψον πτωχικὸν εἶναι φασὶν ἔψον), though, where it was less abundant, it was highly valued.¹³

Athenaeus III.59; ²ib. III.62, II.98K; ³ib. IV.2, II.81K; ⁴ib. IV.14, II.375K; ⁵ib. IV.8, IV.433M; ⁶Moralia 2.667F; ⁷Athenaeus VII.4; ⁸ib. II.48, II.243K; ⁹ib. III.86, II.366K; ¹⁰ib. III.86, II.301K; ¹¹ib. VII.65, II.429K; ¹²ib. VI.241a, II.456K; ¹³ib. VII.23.

OOD.

Athenaeus, in whose day the city was "full of bread",¹ devotes several ages to listing the many varieties then available, but, since his work records the conversation of eight 'connoisseurs in dining', it is naturally concerned rather with the accompanying dishes. Abundance of food would, in any case, create more widespread interest in these. Barley (κεῖθαι) is still the first cry of the beggar in a third century poem by Choenix - barley, or wheat (λέκος πνεῶν), or a loaf (ἄετος), or half an obol.² That the ordinary household stores were of much the same sort throughout the fourth century as when Aristophanes was writing, is suggested by two references in Theophrastus (372-337 B.C.). The Penurious man forbids his wife to lend, among other things, salt (ἅλς), barley (κεῖθαι), and cakes for sacrifice (θυηλίσματα).³ When the club dinner is held in his house, the Avaricious Man hides away for himself, again among other things, lentils (φακοί), vinegar (ὄξος), and salt (ἅλς).⁴ Finally, Menander (343/2-292/1 B.C.) details the daily necessities (τὰ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸ καθ' ἡμέραν) as bread (ἄετος), meal (ἄλφιτα), vinegar (ὄξος), and oil (ἐλάγιον).⁵ Another fragment of his, contrasting the poverty of a man's customary offering to the gods - one tiny sheep (πρόβατον) - with the self-indulgent extravagance of his expenditure on flute-girls, scented oil, harp-girls, wine of Mende or Thasos, eels cheese and honey, as surely stamps these luxuries still.⁶

Athenaeus III.79; ²ib. VIII.59, 217 Bgk.; ³Characters X; ⁴ib. XXX; 301K, The Pilots; ⁶IV.16LM, Drunkenness.

2.

Recorded prices may now be considered. In setting out in tabular form the prices of corn, the citizen's staple food, the unit of weight chosen is the choenix, the day's minimum allowance whether of wheat or barley meal. Herodotus, marvelling that supplies did not fail Xerxes' host, found its daily consumption of corn impressive even though his calculation was based on the assumption that "each man got only a choenix of wheat a day".¹ Boeckh suggests that the obvious inference - "that the choenix was but a small quantity" - may be discounted, since Herodotus is speaking of "soldiers on the march, who are always great consumers of provisions".² That is surely to assume in Herodotus a Tenthonic precision quite foreign to his casual temperament. Herodotus' reflection is not, I think, that the choenix, an ample daily allowance for the civilian, is probably an underestimate for the soldier on the march, but that the choenix is commonly recognized as the daily minimum for normal life. This seems to be confirmed by Boeckh's next citation from Athenaeus, who says that the Corinthians were called by the Pythian priestess "those who measure with the choenix" because they kept a very great number of slaves.³ It is a fair assumption that the standard allowance for a slave was the common minimum for slave and free alike. When Boeckh estimates Attica's annual consumption of corn, however, he argues that the slave's daily allowance was necessarily in excess of the citizen's, for citizens "since they enjoyed better food than the slaves could not have consumed so much grain as they." Is it, then, to be supposed that the slave was replete with a choenix a day? The interest shown in food by slaves in comedy/

Herodotus VII.187 εἰ χοίνικα πνεῶν ἕκαστος τῆς ἡμέρας ἐλάμβανε καὶ μηδὲν πλέον.
Boeckh's Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener, translated into English by Anthony Lamb, London, 1857 p. 125, n.6; ³ib. p. 126; ib. p. 109.

FOOD.

comedy suggests not. The evidence of Thucydides that the daily allowance of two choenices of barley meal made to the Spartans blockaded in Sphacteria was twice that made to their servants¹ Boeckh dismisses as relating particularly to the Spartans, who again as "warriors" might be held to have had an unusually large ration.² Had two choenices been so regarded, it is surely improbable that the Athenians, whose prisoners the Spartans virtually were, would allow them to receive so much. That the choenix of barley which their servants were allowed was a minimum, is borne out by the fact that on half that amount the Athenian prisoners in the quarries at Syracuse starved to death.³ Daily allowances of one and a half choenices of wheat or of three choenices of barley meal, made at the beginning of the third century B.C. to skilled workmen employed by the temple authorities in Delos, may indicate a rise in the standard of living, but at least they suggest that a man found no difficulty in consuming more than a choenix a day as well as his relish - separately entered in the accounts - if more came his way.⁴ That the choenix of barley meal was recognized as the day's minimum allowance in fifth and fourth century Athens may be conjectured from the references in Plutarch and Diogenes Laertius quoted below in the table of prices.⁵ Presumably Diogenes of Sinope in using a choenix of barley meal as an example of an invaluable commodity cheaply priced is speaking of the amount that will sustain life, and it is at least a reasonable supposition that when Socrates, remonstrating with the friend who complains about the high cost of living in Athens, points out how reasonably the hemiecton of barley meal is priced, he is naming an amount just sufficient for his friend's household. He might be reckoning on the basis of a choenix a head, allowing for a wife, two children or an adult son or daughter, and a slave.

The prices recorded are as follows:

	Date.	Corn. (σίτος)	Barley. (κεῖθαι)	Barley Meal. (ἀλυσίτα)	Wheat. (πυρρός)	Source.
1.	594/3	$\frac{1}{8}$ ob.				Plut. Solon XXIII.5
2.	5th c. (2nd half)			$\frac{1}{4}$ ob.		Plut. Moralia 30.10.470 F
3.	411?			$\frac{1}{2}$ ob. raised to $\frac{3}{4}$ ob.		(Aristotle) Oeconomica II.1347a
4.	c.407			(2 $\frac{2}{3}$ ob.)		Pollux IV.169, quoting Strattis
5.	401/0			(2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ob.)		Xen. Anab. I.V.6
6.	4th c.			$\frac{1}{4}$ ob.		Diog. Laert. Vit. Phil. VI.2.6.
7.	392 or 389				$\frac{3}{8}$ ob.	Aristoph. Eccles. 543
8.	4th c. (beg.)				$\frac{3}{4}$ ob.	I.G. ii ² 1356

(Table continued overleaf)

¹ Thucydides IV.16; ² Boeckh (Lamb's translation) pp.126-7;

³ Thucydides VII.87; ⁴ I.G. xi.2.158A; ⁵ Table of Prices for Barley Meal, items 2 and 6.

DOD.

Date.	Corn.	Barley.	Barley Meal.	Wheat.	Source.
Between 400 and 350			$\frac{1}{2}$ ob.		I.G. ii ² 1358 1.45, 1.50
0. 335/4	$\frac{5}{8}$ ob			($1\frac{1}{2}$ ob.)	I.G. ii ² 408
1. c.330	$1\frac{1}{4}$ ob. (resold at 4ob.)				(Aristotle) Oeconomica II.1352b.
2. 330/29				$\frac{5}{8}$ ob.	I.G. ii ² 360
3. 330/29	(2ob.)			$\frac{5}{8}$ ob.	Dem. XXXIV.39 (c. Phormionem)
4. 329/8		$\frac{3}{8}$ ob.		$\frac{3}{4}$ ob. & $\frac{5}{8}$ ob.	I.G. ii ² 1672
5.		c. $\frac{1}{2}$ ob.		$\frac{3}{4}$ ob.	
6. After 330		$2\frac{1}{2}$ ob.			Dem. XLII.20 (Adv. Phaenippum)
7. 295/4				$6\frac{1}{2}$ d.	Plut. Demetrius 33.
8. 282				$\frac{7}{8}$ ob. c. $\frac{7}{8}$ ob. $\frac{3}{4}$ ob. c. $\frac{5}{8}$ ob. $\frac{7}{8}$ ob. $\frac{7}{8}$ ob. $11\frac{1}{2}$ ob.	I.G. xi.2.158A
			$\frac{1}{2}$ ob.		
			$\frac{5}{8}$ ob.		
			$\frac{5}{8}$ ob.		

Notes on items:

Plutarch (c. A.D. 46-120) quotes one drachma as Solon's evaluation of the medimnus in a table dealing with sacrificial offerings. While the price belongs to an earlier period than that with which the present inquiry is concerned, it is of interest, as the first on record, for purposes of comparison.

In an anecdote about Socrates, Plutarch tells how Socrates, to demonstrate the groundlessness of a friend's complaint that Athens was an expensive city in which to live, took him on a round of the shops where necessities, as distinct from luxuries, were to be had, and made him remark the moderate prices of the goods exposed for sale. A hemiecton of barley meal, for example, cost only an obol. Whether the story is apocryphal or not, it is evident that barley meal so priced was cheap. Of its date one can say only that it purported to fall within the adult life of Socrates (469-399 B.C.).

OOD.

otes on items (contd.):

In the second book of the *Oeconomica*, erroneously attributed to Aristotle, the people of Lampsacus "anticipating the despatch of many firemen against them" are reported to have raised funds to meet the expected emergency by ordering the dealers to sell their barley meal, for which the market price was four drachmae, the medimnus, at six drachmae, so that the state profited by two drachmae on every medimnus sold. The date is mere conjecture. Ground for fearing Athenian reprisals, however, would certainly be furnished by revolt to the Spartan Alcibiades. Nor need the fact that the Athenian Strombichides found the city (which he took at the first assault) unfortified, when he hastily sailed against it from Chios with twenty-four ships, necessarily invalidate this supposition. The people of Lampsacus may have put their money-making scheme into practice without having time to expend the receipts on defences.

A fragment of the *Cinesias*, a lost play by Strattis (fl. 407 B.C.) quoted by Pollux (fl. A.D. 180) in a discussion about measures, puts the price of barley meal at "about four drachmae the cophinus", a Boeotian measure containing nine Attic choenices. Lack of context leaves no clue to the construction to be put upon these few lines from comedy, nor can it be dated save by the floruit of its author. This entry is accordingly bracketed as unsatisfactory evidence.

When other sources of corn supply failed the Greek mercenaries in India (401/0 B.C.), the price asked in the local market for wheat flour and barley meal was four sigli (five Attic drachmae) the capithe (two Attic choenices). "Therefore," says Xenophon significantly, "the soldiers lived on meat." Date and detail of this price are well authenticated. It has been bracketed because it relates to a foreign market. It is, however, of interest as an example of what seemed to a Greek soldier an exorbitant charge, which he could not afford to pay.

In his life of Diogenes the Cynic philosopher (fourth century), Diogenes Laertius (A.D. c. 200-250) gives, as an example cited by the sage, a remarking how commonly things of great value are sold for nothing at all while useless objects fetch high prices, the sale of a statue for three hundred drachmae but that of a choenix of barley meal for two obols. Like Plutarch's anecdote (cf. item 2), this might well be apocryphal. It is, however, sufficiently unlike the other in detail to have independent value in testifying to the cheapness of such a price. It is, though, of even vaguer date.

This price is the inference from Blepyrus' complaint to Praxagora that his inability to attend the ecclesia (and so earn three obols) for lack of his cloak and shoes, with which she had gone off, had lost them an ecteus of wheat. In his desire to make her appreciate the enormity of her conduct he may be guilty of an exaggeration which would not be lost on the audience. On the other hand, if the *Ecclesiazusae* belongs not to 392, but to 389 B.C.,* this apparently low price might reflect, either in fact or expectation, the recovery of Thasos, the Chersonese, Byzantium, and Alcedon for Athens.

In a table of sacrificial fees belonging to the fourth century three obols is the price of a hemiecton of wheat.

In a similar table four obols is the price of an ecteus of barley meal.

v. Professor Rose's note in *A Handbook of Greek Literature*, p. 238.

OOD.

otes on items (contd.):

0. In a decree honouring them for this and other services, two merchants of Heraclea are commemorated for bringing from Sicily in 355/4 B.C. wheat which had cost nine drachmae the medimnus (bracketed price), and barley, to sell at Athens at five drachmae the medimnus.
1. Cleomenes of Naucratis, Alexander's finance minister for Egypt, paid the dealers, according to the writer of the Oeconomica, ten drachmae the medimnus - the price they had been getting from the merchants - for their entire stock of corn, and so, having secured a monopoly, fixed the price at thirty-two drachmae the medimnus. This entry is bracketed because the Athenian citizen did not pay for corn at such a rate - part of the cost was defrayed by the State or by private benefactions. It cannot be exactly dated, but the circumstances seem to warrant its insertion at this point in the table. The current rate of ten drachmae the medimnus follows reasonably enough off the earlier Sicilian charge of nine drachmae. The sixteen drachmae mentioned (v. item 13) by Demosthenes as the cost price of corn in the speech against Phormio was probably a reflection in the other markets of Cleomenes' exorbitant thirty-two drachmae, and the eighteen drachmae paid for home-grown barley (v. item 6 - though this may be an overestimate to support a special plea) would then be the result of an increased demand on the other markets due to a general desire to avoid the Egyptian one if possible. It is worth noting in this connection that in the speech against Phormio (327/6 B.C.) the voyage was to the Bosphorus, and that in the speech against Dionysodorus c. 322 B.C.), which deals with the events of the past two years, Armeniscus, who did sail to Egypt, is together with his partner, Dionysodorus, accused of being in league with Cleomenes. In that speech too, the mischief done by Cleomenes to Athens, and to Greece in general, is said to date from "the time he received the government". (In Dionysodorus 7.) As Alexander's conquest of Egypt took place in 332/1 B.C., Cleomenes' machinations were probably begun in 331/0.
2. Another decree pays honour to a merchant of Salamis in Cyprus for selling his grain at five drachmae the medimnus in 330/29 B.C.
3. In the speech against Phormio, the plaintiff, calling attention to his own exemplary behaviour, speaks of a time (probably 330/29 B.C.) when the price of corn rose to sixteen drachmae the medimnus (bracketed price), and recalls how he then imported and sold to the citizens more than 10,000 medimni of wheat at the existing price (τῆς καθ' ὅτις τιμῆς) of five drachmae the medimnus. There is no reason to suppose that the prices are falsified for effect (though the quantity might be), for they would be common knowledge.
4. & 15. In 329/8 B.C. first-fruits barley fetched three drachmae the medimnus, and first-fruits wheat six drachmae the medimnus. Ten medimni, however, were sold for five drachmae the medimnus. So records an inscription found at Eleusis. Barley from Imbros, later in arriving than the rest, fetched three drachmae, five obols the medimnus; its offering of wheat - 36 medimni, sold for 221 drachmae - fetched the same price as the bulk of the wheat received.
6. In the speech against Phaenippus, it was the plaintiff's object to prove that Phaenippus was better off, so that the eighteen drachmae the medimnus he quotes as the price obtained by Phaenippus for the barley grown on his estate, possibly an overestimate, is certainly a top price.
7. Three hundred drachmae the medimnus is the price to which, according to Plutarch, wheat soared during the blockade of Athens by Demetrius. A price twenty-six times that paid by the merchants during the scarcity of 355/4 B.C. (item 10), and nearly ten times that engineered by the/

OOD.

otes on items (contd):

he designing Cleomenes (item 11), becomes horribly credible in view of the seemingly fantastic but authenticated figures of recent Greek history.

8. An interesting temple inscription from Delos records, in detailing expenditure on corn for two skilled workmen, variations in the price of the medimnus of wheat from month to month for the first five months, and for the eighth and ninth months of the Delian year (which began with the winter solstice), and the prices of the medimnus of barley for the last three.

About bread little can be said. Relevant passages, cited by Boeckh pp. 33-4, are as he shows, inconclusive. That of most interest occurs in Demosthenes' speech against Phormio (XXXIV.37), which speaks of wheat bread sold by the obol's worth during the shortage of 330/29 B.C. Unfortunately what constituted the obol's worth is not stated. That it represented the individual's daily ration, however, seems probable; especially in view of a quotation in Athenaeus from the comic poet Antiphanes (who began to exhibit in 387 B.C.) which puts the cost of an ostemious man's portion (*μερίς*) of barley-cake at half an obol. (II.76K, Athenaeus IV. 161a.)

As it was necessary to choose a unit of weight in setting out the prices of wheat and barley, so must a unit of capacity be chosen in tabulating the prices of wine. Again it seems possible to determine the ordinary citizen's daily allowance. Passages in Herodotus (VI.57)² and Menander (Epitrepontes, Act I)³ suggest that it was a cotyle, and the passage in Thucydides (IV.16) which fixed the daily allowance of barley meal for the Spartans in Sphacteria at twice the minimum amount likewise allows them two cotylae of wine. Their servants were allowed one. It is not, however, the cost of the cotyle that the following table shows, but the cost of three cotylae (representing, on the foregoing argument, a three days' supply, or alternatively perhaps the day's provision for a small family), since I think (admittedly on slender evidence) that three cotylae may have been the unit of retail. That this was the capacity of the ordinary wineskin is certainly suggested by the brisk query of Mesilochus in Aristophanes' Thesmophoriazusae (ll. 742-3). The fact which I think supports this view is that, expressed in terms of three cotylae, all recorded prices reduce to sums capable of payment in the current coin. Expressed in terms of a single cotyle, they do not.

The prices recorded are as follows:

Date.	Wine per 3 cotylae.	Source.
5th c. (2nd half)	2d. $\frac{1}{2}$ ob.	Plutarch, Moralia 30.10.470F

e.440	1 $\frac{3}{4}$ ob. - $\frac{7}{8}$ ob. ?	Hesperia, vol. III (1934), p. 296
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(Table continued overleaf)

"According to an Athenian newspaper, which publishes a comparative table showing the increase in prices from October 28, 1940 (when Greece entered the war) to April 1, 1944, the price of bread rose from 10 drs. per oke to 340,000 drs. per oke." Hellas, London, June 23, 1944.

The cotyle was the allowance sent home to a Spartan king when he did not attend the public dinner.

The cotyle is the amount that the censorious Smicrines regards as customary.

FOOD.

Date.	Wine per 3 cotylae.	Source.
5. 411	1ob.	Hesychius on the word <i>τεικότυλος</i> , in reference to Aristophanes' Thesmophoriazusae ll. 742-3.
6. 4th c.	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ob.	Alexis, II.301K, quoted by Athenaeus III.117e
7. After 330	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ob.	Demosthenes XLII, 20 (Adv. Phaenippum)
8. 329/8	1ob.	I.G. ii ² 1672 204-5
9. Between 322/1 and 292/1	3ob.	Menander, Epitrepontes, Act I.
10. 296	1 $\frac{3}{8}$ ob.	I.G. xi.2.154A 15

Notes on items:

1. Cf. Barley Meal, 2. The price of Chian wine - a mina the metretes - is the first ground of the complaint made by Socrates' friend that Athens is an expensive city in which to live. That Chian was, however, a choice wine, there is ample evidence. (v. Athenaeus I.51.) A mina was the sum spent on wine for one of the lavish banquets of comedy. (Eupolis, I.297K, cited by Pollux IX.59.) Another choice wine came from Mende. (v., for example, Menander, Drunkenness, IV.161M.) In Demosthenes' speech against Lacritus (XXXV.18), three thousand jars (*κεράμια*) were estimated in the record of a contract at six thousand drachmae. Boeckh, remarking on the impossibility of these jars' being metretae - "which the word *κεράμια* in the more confined sense certainly denotes" (p. 136) - , says, "We must assume that small jugs, which may have been commonly used for containing the Mendaean wine were meant, since the Mendaean wine was a choice wine and was used in the most sumptuous banquets of the Macedonians." Might these "small jugs" have contained three cotylae, the amount held by a wineskin? Their price, two drachmae each, then approximates that here recorded for Chian wine, which is known to have been of the same class.

2. In an article on "Pottery from a Fifth Century Well" Miss Talcott writes "A number of wine jars from our well bear graffiti which it seems possible to interpret as indications of price, inscribed though they be by persons of varying training and literacy. If our interpretation can be accepted, the prices range from seven to fourteen drachmae the jar." (Hesperia III., 1934, p.296.) The prices shown in the table are queried because they are based on the assumption that these jars were *κεράμια* of standard size, that each jar held a metretes. (v. Boeckh, as cited in the previous note.) Since Miss Talcott mentions the fact that jars 430 B.C. held six gallons, those in question were evidently not of the small variety.

3. v. Boeckh, p.136.

4. Three choes of wine at ten obols the chous is an item in a list of purchases for a dinner, detailed at the request of a man who refuses to part with his subscription, till he assures himself that the money has been satisfactorily expended. The purchaser implies that he got a bargain since the deal was made while the sellers were drunk, but the figure named is, for effect, probably higher than that commonly paid by the/

DOD.

otes on items (contd.):

he bulk of the audience.

Cf. Barley, 15. Twelve drachmae the metretes is the price which the plaintiff alleges Phaenippus is getting for his Attic wine. It is evidently considered a good price.

In the temple accounts from Eleusis two metretae of wine are entered at sixteen drachmae.

At an obol the cotyle, ^{the chatty} Smicrines seems to think a man's wine might very well choke him.

In the temple accounts from Deños a metretes of wine is entered at eleven drachmae.

The evidence suggests that during the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. an obol for three cotylae was a common price for ordinary wine.

Of salt all that can be said is that it was ordinarily cheap. The only price recorded (which works out at five obols the choenix) belongs to the period of blockade by Demetrius (v. Wheat, 6) when, if Plutarch's figures are reliable, prices were abnormally high. (Cf. Boeckh, p.138.)

Prices recorded for vegetables, cheese, and fruit are disappointingly low. They are as follows:

Vegetables

Date.	Item.	Price.	Source.
4th c.	Lupins - 1 choenix	1ob.	Teles in Joh. Stob. Florileg. 5, v. Boeckh, p.143, n. 6
4th c.	A cabbage (ἐλάφας)	2ob.	Alexis, II.301K, v. Athenaeus, III,117e.
4th c. (2nd half)	Lupins (θήλας)	(1ob.)	Timocles, II.460K, v. Athenaeus, VI.240e.

otes on items:

Writing about the middle of the third century B.C., Teles attaches to Diogenes, but with other examples of prices, Plutarch's anecdote aboutocrates. (Cf. Barley Meal, 2.) Lupins at a chalcos the choenix are cited by Diogenes (fourth century B.C.) as an example of cheapness.

Cf. Wine, 4. That this is an exaggerated price is evident, both from the way in which it is broken to the critical auditor - he is represented as having insisted on the purchase of a cabbage - and from his horrified reception of its cost.

This entry is bracketed because the context is too fragmentary for reliable interpretation. Boeckh suggests (p.143) that the price, which seems high, belongs to a time of scarcity and may be "jestingly exaggerated". Push this argument a little further, and it may be as extraordinary as the potency of the lupins which so miraculously revive the parasite. I doubt whether this is the line to pursue. I think the joke more likely to lie in the attribution of the parasite's sudden and unexpected accession of vigour to a meagre meal of the poorest and cheapest of foods, which he normally shuns. Boeckh remarks that lupins were generally measured by the choenix. Is it possible that to an audience familiar with that fact the phrase "that sell eight for the obol" (ὅτι ὀβολῷ πέντε τῶν βολεῶν) might mean "that sell eight choenices for the obol"? Cf. our omission of "per lb.", when we say, "Tea is 3/4; margarine 1.; sugar, 4d." If the Greek will bear this interpretation, Timocles' price is the same as Teles' (v. Vegetables, 1.).

OD.

cease

Date.	Price.	Source.
4th c.	$\frac{1}{2}$ ob.	Diog. Laert. Vit. Phil. VI.2.6

te:

One of the anecdotes told by Diogenes Laertius about Diogenes of Sinope (cf. Barley Meal, 6) records the philosopher's comment on the refusal of a friend, who had pleaded to be allowed to do him a service, to carry a half obol's worth of cheese: "See, half an obol's worth of cheese has broken off our friendship." From this it appears that a half obol's worth of cheese was a trifling purchase.

fruit

Date.	Item.	Price.	Source.
5th c. (2nd half)	Olives (ἐλάαι) - 1 choenix	$\frac{1}{4}$ ob.	Plutarch, Moralia, 30.10.470F
4th c.	Figs (σῦκα) - 1 choenix	$\frac{1}{4}$ ob.	Teles in Joh. Stob. Florileg. 5, v. Boeckh, p. 143, n. 6
4th c.	Myrtleberries (μύρα) - 1 choenix	$\frac{1}{4}$ ob.	as for 2 above.
4th c. (2nd half)	3 citrons (κίτεια)	1 ob.	Eriphus, II.439K, v. Athenaeus, III.846

notes on items:

Cf. Barley Meal, 2. A choenix of olives at two chalci is pointed out by Socrates to his friend as most moderately priced.

Cf. Vegetables, 1. A choenix of figs at two chalci is cited by Diogenes of Sinope as an example of cheapness.

Cf. 2. A choenix of myrtleberries at two chalci is similarly cited. The few lines which Athenaeus quotes from Eriphus (350M.) suggest that, as rareties, citrons were dear.

honey

Date.	Per cotyle.	Source.
5th c. (2nd half)	5d.	Plutarch, Moralia, 30.10.470F

421	4ob. ?	Aristophanes, Peace, 252
4th c. (early)	3ob.	I.G. ii ² 1365, 2-3

notes on items:

This price is one of those on which Socrates' friend (cf. Barley Meal, 2) bases his complaint about the expensiveness of life in Athens. Attic honey was, of course, the best (cf. Archestratus, quoted by Athenaeus III.5.9.), which is in line with his grumble at the cost of Attic wine (v. Wine, 1).

It is a fair assumption that the cotyle - the measure mentioned in the other two references - is the measure Trygaeus has in mind when,

FOOD.

Notes on items (contd.):

When, prohibiting the use of Attic honey, he says, "It costs four obols." Meckh thinks that the expression is not to be interpreted literally; that it is proverbial (p. 144, note 1), in the sense "It costs a fortune". The other prices recorded certainly support this view. The difference between four obols and three (v. item 3) is not great enough to call for Aristophanic comment, whereas five drachmae (the price already given for Attic honey, v. item 1) both merits the proverbial sense of the expression and so far exceeds the literal one as to cause an audience indulgent of it a little wry amusement.

This is the price mentioned in a table of sacrificial fees (cf. Meckh, 8).

So varied are the items, that it is difficult to tabulate the prices of fish. The best method is, perhaps, to classify them in light of the facts that emerged from the review of the evidence relating to the nature of the food eaten at Athens. Sprats (*τελιδες*) and anchovies (*ἀνέμοι*; *ἀνέμοιδες*) were seen to be the common favourites. The only record of a price for fish of this class occurs in a fourth century comedy. The notorious parasite Corydus, lacking an invitation for the day, spends four chalci on anchovies (*μεμπράδες*) for his supper:

Fish (Anchovies)

Date.	Item.	Price.	Source.
4th c. (2nd half)	Anchovies for one	$\frac{1}{2}$ ob.	Timocles, II.456K, v. Athenaeus VI.241a

Dried, smoked, pickled or salted fish, and slices of salt fish were also frequently mentioned. The following items seem to belong to this class:

Fish (Dried, smoked, pickled or salted)

5th c. (end)	A stockfish (<i>στάλπη</i>)	7ob.	Archippus, I.683K, v. Athenaeus VII.322a
4th c.	An enormous salt-fish (<i>πλάτων μεγίστον</i>)	2ob.	Nicostratus, II.220K, v. Athenaeus III.182e
4th c.	Pickled tunny (<i>ῥοστέριχος</i>)	$\frac{5}{8}$ ob.	Alexis, II.301k, v. Athenaeus III.117e
4th c.	Flesh of the young tunny salted in squares (<i>κύβιον</i>)	3ob.	As 3 above.
4th c.	Dried fish (<i>ταρίχος</i>)	20b.	Alexis, II.336K, v. Athenaeus III.117c,d

Notes on items:

Athenaeus quotes only two lines from Archippus, but the suggestion is that the price is high. Fowler defines the stockfish as "cod or similar fish split and dried in the sun without salt"; it may have been a superior variety of *τάριχος*. The number of persons it might be expected to serve is not indicated.

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otes on items (contd.);

According to the purchaser this huge salt-fish was really worth a drachma, since there seemed to him to be more of it than twelve men could eat in three days. The size is no doubt exaggerated, however, and the price minimized, as ground for describing the fish-monger as "a real gentleman" (καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός), a jest at the expense of a class of tradesmen notorious for their incivility (cf. Amphis, II.244K).

Cf. Wine, 4, and Vegetables, 2. Pickled tunny at five chalci - seemingly sufficient for a small dinner-party - passes without criticism from the man who is determined to learn whether the money contributed by the diners has been properly expended.

Cf. 3. Flesh of the young tunny salted in squares (which may, perhaps, be classed as τεμάχην), provided for the same party at the cost of three obols, is at once called in question. This is thought to be twice the proper price. The explanation given by the purchaser - evidently admitting the complaint - is that the fishmonger, who is also the greengrocer, must recover from the sale of his fish what he loses on his sales through the depredations of the grubs.

Dried fish, to be made delicious through the artistry of the cook, is served as a course at a dinner-party. Again the quantity bought for two obols must be regarded as sufficient for a few guests. With this may be compared a quotation from Philippiades (fl. 323 B.C.), where three obols have been paid for τετέχως - probably in this instance salted meat, as it is accompanied by capers costing three-eighths of an obol (IV.469M).

Five prices are recorded for shell-fish:

Shell-fish

Date.	Item.	Price.	Source.
4th c.	Some mussels (μύσς)	7/8 ob.	Alexis, II.301K, v. Athenaeus III.117c
4th c.	Some urchins (ὀχινοί)	1 ob.	As 1 above.
4th c.	3 cuttlefish (ὀππία)	1 d.	Alexis, II.367K, v. Athenaeus VII.324b
4th c. 2nd half)	An octopus (ὀκτώπους)	4 ob.	Amphis, II.244K, v. Athenaeus V.224d
4th c. 2nd half)	A plate of urchins	8 ob.	Lynceus, III.274-5K, v. Athenaeus IV.131f

otes on items:

& 2. Cf. Dried fish, 3 and 4. Like the pickled tunny at five chalci, the mussels at seven chalci, and the urchins at an obol, are passed by the inquisitor without comment.

Cuttlefish (cf. p. 10, note 11) were only for the well-to-do.

Four obols is evidently thought a high charge for an octopus, as it occurs in a passage decrying the rudeness and rascality of fishmongers. A plate of urchins costing eight obols - presumably a large plate which will be the main dish - is thought more likely to appease the hunger of the guests than a variety of dishes of which there is too little to go round.

DOD.

Eels and fresh fish were, it seemed, luxuries ; though the statement at Eupolis - "I spent a hundred drachmae on fish and got only eight bass and twelve giltheads" - need not be taken literally.

fish (Eels and fresh fish)

Date.	Item.	Price.	Source.
426/5	A Copaic eel (ἐγχελυσ)	3d.	Aristophanes, Acharnians 962.
4th c.	A conger (γόγγρος)	10ob.	Alexis, II.301K, v. Athenaeus III.117e
4th c.	2 mullets (κεστραῖς)	10ob.	Alexis, II.303K, v. Athenaeus VI. 224f
4th c. 2nd half)	A pike (κέστρος)	8ob.	Amphis, II.244K, v. Athenaeus VI.224d
4th c. 2nd half)	A gudgeon (κωρίος)	4d.	Menander, III.57K, v. Athenaeus VII.309; IX.385
4th c. 2nd half)	A bass (λαβρεύς)	10ob.	Diphilus, II.562K, v. Athenaeus VI.225a
4th c. (end)	A grayling (γλαυκίσκος)	3d.	Archedicus, III.277K, v. Athenaeus VII.294b
4th c. (end)	A large conger's head and neck	6d.	As 7 above.

Notes on items:

Three drachmae are sent by Lamachus in lordly fashion for the purchase which he evidently supposes his slave will have no difficulty in making) the Copaic eel secured for himself by Dicaeopolis.

Cf. Dried fish, 4. A conger at ten obols is cheap enough to placate a prospective diner who complained that twice the proper price had been paid for young salted tunny.

The purchaser complains that ten obols for two mullets is excessive, and offers eight. This offer the fish-monger rejects with scorn; for aught he would let the customer have one fish!

Cf. Shell-fish, 4. Eight obols for a pike is cited as added insult to the fishmonger's already outrageous demand of four for an octopus.

The implication in Menander is that four drachmae for a single fish is exorbitant.

The rascality of fishmongers is emphasised by Diphilus. Not content with ten whole obols for his fish, the salesman demands payment in Athenian currency, which raises the charge by about half (v. Boeckh on Athenian money, pp. 28 and 98). The bass was one of the fish listed by Diphilus as a luxury enjoyed only by the rich (cf. p. 10, note 11).

& 8. The grayling and the conger's head and neck are purchases made by a cook - presumably, therefore, for a dinner-party - who, complaining of their price, thinks life hard; a reflection possibly not lost on an audience who, generally speaking, had to be content with a great deal less.

OOD.

Finally, there is one price given for cooked fish. Except for the eel, roasted fish is the most expensive item in the list of purchases for the club dinner (cf. Eels, 2):

fish (cooked)

Date.	Item.	Price.	Source.
4th c.	A roasted fish (ὀπτός ἰχθύς)	1d.	Alexis, II.301K, v. Athenaeus III.117e

A few prices are found for game and poultry:

poultry and Game.

Date.	Thrushes. (κίχλαι)	Finches. (σπίνοι)	Daws. (κολοιοί)	Partridges. (πέδικες)	Geese. (χήνες, χηνάλωπες)	Source.
426/5	Several 1d.					Aristophanes, Acharnians 960-1
415/4		Seven 1ob.	One 1ob.			Aristophanes, Birds 1079 & 18
4th c.				One (50d.)		Diog. Laert., II.8.3
Shortly before 301					One 2d.5ob. Another 4d. Another 4d. Another 1d.2ob.	I.G. xi.2.144A
282					One 1d.1½ob.	I.G. xi.2.158A 1.31
279				One 1ob.	One 1d.2ob.	I.G. xi.2.161A 1.38

tes on items:

Cf. Eels, 1. A drachma is the sum Lamachus proposes to pay for share the thrushes with which Dicaeopolis excites everyone's envy. The sale of finches strung together at seven the obol is the crime for which Philocrates the poulterer is, according to the Birds' Constitution, to be taken alive or dead.

Jackdaws are mentioned in the list of Boeotian delicacies (Acharnians, 3-6), in Antiphanes' catalogue of edible birds (II.130K, v. Athenaeus 1.71), and flanked by quails and swans, both of which were eaten, they appear again in Athenaeus IX.48. For that reason the price of the talking jackdaw in the Birds is given here.

This bracketed price is, of course, fantastic. It occurs in a tale of Diogenes Laertius about Aristippus, the founder of the Cyrenaic school of philosophy. The tale is of interest because one obol (the price shown in/

DOD.

otes on items (contd.):

an inscription from Delos belonging to the year 279 B.C., v. item 11) so mentioned as to suggest that it was the normal price. It is said that Aristippus ordered a partridge to be bought for him at the cost of fifty drachmae. In reply to someone's expostulation, he secured the permission that his critic would have bought the partridge, had it cost an ool, then remarked, "Well, fifty drachmae are no more ~~to~~me." 6., 7., 8., 9., 10., & 11. These prices occur in temple accounts from Delos. Homolle (B.C.H. XIV., 1890, p.456 et seq.) deals with the keeping and rearing of animals of all kinds, fish and birds, creatures wild and tame by the temple Authorities. Of them he writes: "Si les dieux y trouvaient plaisir, le trésor en tirait profit, ne négligeant aucune recette. Les bêtes mortes étaient vendues pour leur plumage ou leur peau on vend les oiseaux et les animaux morts, oies, chèvres ($\alpha\gamma\iota\delta\iota\alpha$), un cochon ($\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$) tombé dans l'étang sacré, etc.); les moutons servaient aux sacrifices et donnaient leur laine; les oiseaux leurs oeufs. (Les ventes de tourterelles, d'oies ou autres animaux se renouvelaient presque chaque mois. Les comptes de 250 en donnaient le détail; tantôt ce sont des animaux mêmes et tantôt des oeufs)." The constant recurrence of the sale of birds other than those which have died, and are described as dead, suggests that these no less than sheep were used as sacrificial offerings, and so as food. It is on this assumption that these items have been added here. The geese entered as items 9 and 11 were Egyptian geese ($\chi\eta\gamma\alpha\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha\varsigma$), and the price (1d.2ob.) included an unspecified number of eggs. Similarity of price suggests that item 8 was also an Egyptian goose, though it is not so entered, nor is the price there inclusive of eggs. Ordinary geese were more highly priced. (In the temple accounts of 301 and 279 B.C. dead geese fetched, one three drachmae, another five and a half drachmae.) Item 11, the partridge, has already been noticed in the remarks on item 4.

As meat was provided by sacrificial victims, two tables follow. The first shows the cost of such animals, the second prices paid for portions of cooked meat.

Cost (Sacrificial victims)

Date.	Pigs.	Goats.	Sheep.	Oxen.	Source.
594/3			($\pi\epsilon\acute{o}\beta\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$) 1d.	($\beta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$) 5d.	Plutarch, Solon. XXIII.5
422/1	($\chi\omicron\iota\epsilon\iota\delta\iota\omicron\nu$) 3d.				Aristophanes, Peace 374
Between 410/9 and 401/0			($\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\upsilon\iota\omicron\nu$) 16d.		Lysias, XXXII.21 (c. Diogitonem)
Shortly after 403/2	($\chi\omicron\tau\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$) 3d.		($\phi\acute{o}\varsigma$) 12d. ($\phi\acute{o}\varsigma$) 15d. ($\kappa\epsilon\iota\acute{o}\varsigma$) 17d.		Hesperia, vol.IV.,1935, p.21 et seq.; lines 24 and 78 lines 13;15;60;62;79;80 lines 61;65;66;67;71;72; 83;85;86. line 64

(Table continued overleaf)

FOOD.

Date.	Pigs.	Goats.	Sheep.	Oxen.	Source.
Between 400 and 350	(χοίρειος) 3d.				I.G. ii ² 1358, col. I.55; col.II.3;4;14;21;28;31;36; 37;42;44.
	(ὅς κύουσα) 20d.				col.I.28.
		(αἴξ) 12d.			col.I.26;30;34;45;48;50;
		(τέλειος παγμέλας) 15d.			col.II.18.
			(κείος) 12d.		col.I.6;10;47;49;col.II.27 44;51.
			(οἶς) 12d.		col.I.8;11;22;35;51;54; col.II.6;8;14;15;20;21;24; 25;31;33;47.
			(οἶς) 11d.		col.I.12;36;52;col.II.8; 13;16;20.
			(οἶς κύουσα) 17d.		col.I.28.
			(οἶς κύουσα) 16d.		col.II.12.
				(βοῦς) 90d.	col.I.41;col.II.6;20;21; 25;43;55.
				(βοῦς) 150d.	col.8.
				(βοῦς κύουσα) 90d.	col.II.9
30/79				(βοῦς ἥως) 300d.	I.G. ii ² 1126, 32.
29/8	(χοίρειος) 21d.				I.G. ii ² 1672, 120;
	(χοίρειοι) 42d.				126-7;
		(αἴξ) 30d.	(πέριβατον) 30d.	(βοῦς) 400d.	289-90.
27/6			(οἶς) 12d.		I.G. ii ² 1673, 62;
			(κείος) 17d.		62.
th e. end)			(περιβάτιον) 10d.		Menander, III.91K, v. Athenaeus IV.146d & VII.364d

(Table continued overleaf)

OD.

Date.	Pigs.	Goats.	Sheep.	Oxen.	Source.
Between 314 and 302			(ἀρνί) 7d.3ob.		I.G. xi.2.142, 59.
302	(χοίρειος) 5d.				I.G. xi.2.145A, 9.
301	(χοίρειος) 7d.		(οἶς) 26d.		I.G. xi.2.146A, 77-8; 79; 80. 70.
3rd c. (beg.)		(αἶγ) 20d.			I.G. ii ² 1363, 8.
298	(ὄς) 6d.3ob.				I.G. xi.2.148, 62.
Between 297 and 279	(ὄς) 5+d. (χοίρειος) 8d.				I.G. xi.2.153, 4; 11.
296			(ἀρνί) 3d.4ob.		I.G. xi.2.154A, 11.
c.280	(χοίρειος) 2d.3ob.				I.G. xi.2.165, 16.
276	(χοίρειος) 4d.				I.G. xi.2.163A, 61.
274	(κάπρειος) 16d.		(κείβς) 16d.	(ταύρος) 50d.	I.G. xi.2.199A, 70-1.
269	(χοίρειος) 2d. 2d.4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ob. 3d. 3d.1ob. 3d.3ob.. 4d. 4d.3ob.				I.G. xi.2.203A, 33; 34; 36; 46; 52; 41; 42; 44; 45; 50; 53-4; 55; 48; 56.
268	(χοίρειος) 3d.				I.G. xi.2.204, 76-7.

Notes on items:

Cf. Corn, 1. These prices appear at the head of the table because they are the earliest on record. They fall outside the period with which this inquiry is concerned.

OD.

tes on items (contd.):

Threatened with death, the punishment appointed by Zeus for the perpetrator of Peace, Trygaeus begs the loan of three drachmae to pay for the young pig required for the initiation which he feels he should undergo before he dies.

Sixteen drachmae - eight of which he charged to his wards - was the price entered by a guardian, accused of embezzlement, for an offering made at the Dionysia. A note in the Loeb edition reads: "Here again the actual cost was probably no more than half the share charged to the children." The defendant had already been taxed with falsely stating that the cost of the tomb erected for the father of his wards was fifty minae, half of which he undertook to pay himself, whereas the actual cost fell short of the half charged to the children's estate.

A small sheep costing ten drachmae is represented by Menander as the customary offering to the gods of one who spares no expense for his own enjoyment - his flute-girls, scented oil, harp-girls, wine of Mende or of Asos, eels, cheese and honey costing, indeed, close on a talent.

8., & 10.-21. The rest of the evidence is epigraphical, and so objective. The prices given in the fourth entry come from a fragment of a publication of the laws of Solon; those given in the fifth entry, from a local sacrificial calendar belonging to the Attic Tetrapolis, published about the same time. The sixth entry comes from a decree of the phictyons at Delphi; the seventh and eighth occur in Eleusinian accounts; the tenth to twelfth, and the fourteenth to twenty-first (inclusive), in temple accounts from Delos, and the thirteenth in an Eleusinian calendar.

Variations in price are no doubt due to difference in the age, size, and condition of the animal. The evidence suggests that throughout the period under consideration young pigs cost from two to three drachmae, older animals from three to eight, sows in pig about twenty, a boar sixteen. (The prices of the pigs in the seventh entry suggest that they are brood sows, like that in the fifth entry.) Goats seem to have ranged in price from twelve to thirty drachmae. Thirty drachmae, the price recorded in the temple inscription of 329/8 B.C., may be regarded as a top price, since there is sufficient evidence to show that the prices of the other animals in this entry (7) are high. As twelve drachmae, found as the price of both sheep and goat between 400 and 350 B.C. (v. entries 4 and 5), recurs as the price of a sheep in 327/6 B.C. (v. entry 8), and as it, according to Menander, would procure a small victim (v. entry 9), twelve drachmae may be taken as the average cost of an ordinary sheep or goat. The highest price on record for a lamb (apart from the disputed figure in the third entry) is seven and a half drachmae (v. entry 10). As for oxen, ninety drachmae (v. entry 5) is probably in every instance the price of a cow in calf, though that is only once explicitly stated. Three hundred drachmae (a hundred Aeginetan staters - v. entry 6) is the price of a choice bull. Between 314 and 302 B.C. (v. I.G. xi.2.142), two ploughing oxen together fetched a hundred and fifty drachmae, the price of a single victim in the fifth entry.

Of more immediate relevance to this inquiry, however, are the few prices on record for portions of cooked meat:

at (cooked)

Date.	Item.	Price.	Source.
Between 470 and 450; c.455*	A share of sacrificial meat (μέμειν' Εὐθεσίωv τοῖς παροῦσιν τῶν κειμένων τοῖς ἱεροποιοῖς δεαχμήν ἐκδοῦσι)	1d.	I.G. i ² 10

MOD.

Date.	Item.	Price.	Source.
Between 441/0 and 440/39	Meat for one (ἡμιωβολίου κρέα)	$\frac{1}{2}$ ob.	Eupolis, I.299K, v. Athenaeus VII.328e
406/5	Boiled meat for one (καὶ κρέα γε πρὸς τοῦτοισιν ἀνάρεστον εἴκοσιν ἄν' ἡμιωβολία)	$\frac{1}{2}$ ob.	Aristophanes, Frogs 553-4
4th c.	Four scraps of meat (τέτταρα κρέα μικρά)	1 ob.	Antiphanes, II.76K, v. Athenaeus IV.161a
4th c.	A dainty morsel of roast pig (κρεῖττος ἀστέγιος πᾶνυ ὕβριος ὀπτός)	3 ob.	Alexis, II.366K, v. Athenaeus XIV.665f
4th c. 2nd half)	A sausage (ἡπάτια καὶ νήστις)	$\frac{5}{8}$ ob.	Aristophon, v. Pollux IX.70

Notes on items:

An Athenian decree relative to the Ionian city of Erythrae in Asia - tributary member of the Athenian League - determines its religious obligations in respect of the Panathenaea. Not less than three minae was to be expended on victims by the Erythraeans, so that the apparently liberal allowance of a drachma's worth to each Erythraean present was an easy gesture of generosity on the part of Athens. From the other entries it is evident that such a share was sufficient for the entertainment of a few friends. In the event of the Erythraeans' failing to provide victims to the specified value, the priests were authorised to buy other victims to be charged to their account, the flesh of which might be carried home by anyone who wished.

A stingy man, who had only once before the war bought sprats, indulged in a half obol's worth of meat during the Samian War.

Twenty half-obol portions of meat - one of which, it may be supposed, is the usual amount for an ordinary mortal - had been consumed by the demi-god Heracles on his visit to Hades. The price is, no doubt, that current in 422/1 B.C., when the play was presented.

Four scraps of meat bought for an obol are mentioned by Antiphanes in posing the frugality of the Greeks.

Three obols' worth of roast pig is evidently regarded as a luxury by the guests before whom it is set.

A fragment of comedy puts the price of a sausage at five chalci.

It is, I think, impossible to come to any useful conclusion about the price of oil as it affected Athenian housekeeping, important though it is to the citizen for light, in cooking, and for the care of his body. The prices recorded are, with one exception, prices obtaining outwith Attica. While such prices are useful in respect of commodities imported like by Athens and the other state, it cannot be assumed that in the case of oil, the product par excellence of Attica, prices obtaining elsewhere are reliable evidence for those current in Athens itself. Eckh (p. 159) notices a great discrepancy between the price of oil in/

10D.

an Attic table of sacrificial fees belonging to the beginning of the fourth century B.C. (cf. Honey, 3) and the price at Lampsacus - possibly towards the end of the fifth century (cf. Barley Meal, 3) - as it is given by the writer of the Oeconomica. The other prices - all from the Lian temple accounts - approximate, some to the Attic figure, some to the price at Lampsacus, while others again fall between the two. The measure most frequently mentioned is the chous. As it is also the measure for which the price is quoted in the Oeconomica, the one reference relating to retail in general, it has been used in the following table.

1.

Date.	Oil per chous.	Source.
411 ?	3d.	(Aristotle), Oeconomica II.1347a
4th c. (beg.)	1d.	I.G. ii ² 1356, 2-3
Shortly before 301	4d.3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ob. 4d.3ob. 2d.4ob. 1d.3ob.	I.G. xi.2.144A, 30; 30-31;37. 144B, 21; 24.
279	2d.2ob. 2d.	I.G. xi.2.161A, 92; 108.
269	1d.3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ob. 1d.3ob. 1d.2ob.	I.G. xi.2.203, 39; 59; 65.
c.265	1d.4ob. 1d.5ob.	I.G. xi.2.219, 7; 40.

Notes on items:

Cf. Barley Meal, 3. Three drachmae was the current price which, to meet an emergency, was, by the addition of a fifty per cent tax, to be raised to four and a half drachmae.

Three cotylae are entered at one and a half obols in an Attic table of sacrificial fees.

This is the only instance of widely divergent prices within a single year. The variation was not due to variety of use, as all the purchases were made for sacrificial purposes.

The lower price was for oil bought in bulk, a metretes at twenty-four drachmae.

The two lower figures again belong to oil bought in the larger quantities of a metretes at seventeen drachmae, one obol, and three metretes at forty-eight drachmae.

Apart from the difficulty in assessing Attic prices already noticed, lack of evidence relating to ordinary domestic consumption for any given length of time presents another problem.

SHELTER.

Evidence for shelter, the second necessity, is afforded by inscriptions recording sales, pledges, mortgages and leases, and by speeches in lawsuits. The absence of detail in these records, which prevents mental reconstruction of this or that house, makes it impossible to correlate cost, or rent, and fabric. Yet these prices have their interest. In so far as it reflects the variation in their owners' or occupiers' means, their range is instructive, while the prices themselves become significant when, reviewed in relation to the wages of their day, they are then compared with modern prices similarly considered. It has seemed best in the tables which follow to group the items on the basis of their valuation. They are too numerous, and their valuation is too varied, for a purely chronological arrangement to be useful. The prices listed in the first table are for houses (οἰκίαι; οἰκίδια; συνοικίαι) or business premises (οἰκήματα); 2 those listed in the second for a house with a garden (κῆπος) or other adjunct (a workshop, a refuse dump etc.), or for land (χωρεῖον) with a house; in the third and fourth tables the prices of building-sites (οἰκόπεδα) and of land (χωρεῖον ἀγρός) are also set out as relevant to this section of the inquiry.³ The tables which/

In the second half of the fourth century B.C. a small town-house could be bought outright for 700d. (Table I, 30), the rough equivalent of a year's salary for an architect. Today a small house within reach of the city of Glasgow might cost the average professional man the equivalent of four to five years' salary (reckoned at £400-500 per annum).

In his most interesting and painstaking examination of the Comptes et inventaires de Temples Déliens en l'Année 279 (B.C.H. XIV., 1890 pp. 389-411) Homolle remarks (p. 436), "On distingue d'abord des οἰκίαι, maisons particulières de famille; les συνοικίαι, maisons de rapport partagées en états appartements, ou hôtelleries; les οἰκήματα, bâtiments destinés au commerce ou à l'industrie." In Attic inscriptions, too, business premises (οἰκήματα v. Table I, items 22 and 29), tenement or lodging-houses (συνοικίαι v. Table I, item 8) and private dwelling-houses (οἰκίαι v. Table I, passim) are evidently differentiated. The specific term συνοικία is used also by the orators (v. Table I, items 1, 4, 8); that their terminology is not invariably exact is, however, suggested in a speech of Demosthenes (De Dicaeogenis Hereditate, v. Table I, item 4), where he uses both οἰκία (26) and συνοικία (27) of the same house.

The frequency with which the expression 'land and house' (χωρεῖον καὶ οἰκία) is found in Attic inscriptions suggests that the term χωρεῖον used without such addition dissociates 'land' from incidental buildings attached upon it. Similarly one property, later described by Lysias as τὸ χωρεῖον (XVII.8), is first contrasted with another to which a use is specifically stated to attach, thus: καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐφ' ἡτοῖ ἡδὴ τεταῖ ἐτη μίσθωκα, τὰ δὲ κικοννοῖ καὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἐδικαζόμεν τὸς ἑχούσι (XVII.5). In the detail of an Attic inscription, which records the sale of land (χωρεῖον) and a building-site (οἰκόπεδον) to a single purchaser (G. ii² 1598), might be adduced in support of such a view. Thus it is at the prices of land, where there is no specific mention of any building, are given in a separate table. It seems rash to conclude, however, that the word χωρεῖον is never more comprehensive in meaning. A further quotation from Homolle (B.C.H. XIV., 1890, p. 422) is relevant. In reference to the properties leased by the Temple Authorities in Asia he writes: "Les domaines sont désignés par le nom générique de/

Téméraires , qui marque leur caractère sacré, par ceux de γῆ ou de κωεῖον , indiquent des propriétés rurales; les comptes des Amphictyons de l'année 434 emploient trois expressions qui donnent de ces propriétés une description plus complète et comme une description sommaire: τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐν Ἀθήλῳ καὶ τοὺς κήπους καὶ τὰς οἰκίας (C.I.A. I, 283 - i.e. I.G. II 377). Les états de lieux qui sont cités plus bas montrent en effet que les propriétés se composent de champs, de vergers et contiennent des bâtiments d'habitation et d'exploitation. Cependant on peut se demander si κήποι et οἰκίας ne doivent pas être disjoints et n'indiquent pas deux éléments distincts de la propriété sacrée, les deux parties dont se compose la γῆ (cf. p. 20.) "Whether the γῆ ἱερὰ of the inscription of 434/3 and the κήποι and οἰκίαι are to be regarded as three distinct classes of property leased by the authorities, or whether κήποι and οἰκίαι are to be taken as together explanatory of γῆ ἱερὰ, subsequent quotations from the accounts of 250 B.C. to which Homolle refers reveal the fact that the various domaines..... designés par les noms de γῆ ou de κωεῖον " did consist not only of vines, figs, pomegranates and pasture-lands (as indicated by vineyards and cowsheds) but included sleeping accommodation, kitchens, stables, outhouses and other buildings - details not specified in the earlier accounts.

000 - 10,000 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
370/69	tenement-house (valuation)	10,000	Demosthenes XLV.28 (In Stephanum I)

to.

In a will, contested by Pasion's son, Apollodorus, a tenement (νοικία) valued at a hundred minae is bequeathed by Pasion (who died 90/69) to Archippe, his widow, as part of her dowry for re-marriage with Phormio. Cf. Table IV., items 9 and 10.

000 - 9,000 drachmae
evidence.

000 - 8,000 drachmae
evidence.

000 - 7,900 drachmae
evidence.

100 - 6,000 drachmae

IVth c.	town-house	5,000	Isaeus V.29
(early)	(purchase price)		(De Dicaeogenis Hereditate)

ALTER.

BLE I. (Houses and Business Premises contd.)

000 - 6,000 drachmae (contd.)

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
	Between house 394/3 & (purchase price) 390/89	5,000	Lysias XIX.29 (De Bonis Aristophanis)

tes.

The sale of this house for 5,000 drachmae occurred after an under-
 king by Dicaeogenes III - given shortly before the extant speech which
 belongs to c.389 B.C. (cf. Isaeus V.7 with V.35) - to surrender two-
 thirds of the contested estate of Dicaeogenes II. It was ceded to
 Dicaeogenes III (over and above his third share) by the rival claimants
 the estate, in recognition of repairs carried out by him while he was
 sole possession of the disputed property. It may be identical with the
 use in the deme Ceramicus (cf. Isaeus V.26-7 with V.28-30, and v. note
 item 4), earlier given by him in lieu of a dowry of forty minae with
 sister of Dicaeogenes II, on whose behalf the subsequent claim to a
 third of the estate was made, and from whom Dicaeogenes III had again
 required it, pending the partition.

For the date v. Lysias XIX.28-9. The context suggests that to buy a
 use at 5,000 drachmae was beyond the means of most men. This purchase
 recorded in a list of expenditures calculated to prove that, after the
 play detailed, Aristophanes (he had twice acted as choregus; had in
 three successive years equipped a warship; had often paid the property
 tax levied by special enactment to meet a deficit in the revenue; had
 required, in addition to the house costing 5,000 drachmae, more than
 60 plethra (c. 80 acres) of land - all in a few years) could not have
 had much moveable property to leave.

000 - 5,000 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
IVth c. (early)	(tenement) house in the deme Ceramicus (valuation)	4,000	Isaeus V.26 (De Dicaeogenis Hereditate)
373/2 or 371/0	town-house (realisation of mortgage)	4,400	Isaeus VI.33 (De Philoctemonis Hereditate)

ALTER.

BLE I. (Houses and Business Premises contd.)

tes.

This house, which was accepted as the equivalent of a dowry of forty minae, is later (v. 27) described as a tenement house (συνοικία).

Democles was a town deme.

The date is based on the supposition that the dowry of forty minae, in lieu of which the house was handed over to Protarchides, was given by Democles III (v. Wyse), and that the lady concerned was the sister of Democles II, earlier married to Democles. Since she is spoken of as the former wife of Democles" (τὴν Δημοκλέους πρώην γυναῖκα, v. 9) with reference to events occurring twelve years (v. 7) after the death of Democles II in 411 B.C., it is fair to assume that her second marriage did not occur before 399 B.C.

The house may be identical with the town-house later sold by Democles III for 5,000 drachmae (v. 29, and Table I, item 2).

For the date, v. Isaeus VI. 27 and 29. The alternative given reflects uncertainty about the date of the expedition mentioned in VI.27. It probably took place in 375/4 or 373/2. (Cf. note on VI.27, Loeb edition.)

000 - 4,000 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
IVth c. (beg.)	house in the deme Melite i.e. town-house (purchase price)	3,000	Isaeus XI.42 (De Hagniae Hereditate)

Before 377/6	house of Demosthenes' father (purchase price)	3,000	Demosthenes XXVII.10 (In Aphobum I)
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342/1 ?	tenement house in the deme Piraeus (purchase price)	3,705d.2ob.	Hesperia, vol. V., 1936 pp. 397-403
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IVth c. 2nd half)	house in Attica (sold with power of redemption)	3,000	I.G. ii 2731
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tes.

An exact date cannot be given. The price cited is that paid by Democles, whose death had occurred (v. 10) before the adjudication of the estate of Hagnias to Theopompus. Theopompus is presently/

ELTER.

BLE I. (Houses and Business Premises contd.)

tes.

essently defending himself against a prosecution in the interest of his
rd, Stratocles' son, brought after an interval (v. 19) by a fellow
ardian. The date of Theopompus' defence is itself uncertain (v.
scussion in the Loeb edition). Jebb's suggestion of 359 B.C., which
ofessor Forster thinks too late, may, however, be taken at least as
tting the limit.

Since Theopompus' object was to represent the property left by
ratocles as considerable, he presumably considered the possession of
town-house (Melite lay to the west of the Areopagus) which had cost
000 drachmae (in addition to a country one for which 500 drachmae
d been paid) an impressive detail. These houses which were let (v. 6;
), together brought in an annual rent of 300 drachmae.

The price cited is that paid by Demosthenes' father, whose death
curred in 377/6 B.C..

Again the detail of his property was designed to impress. It is
rth noting that this was the house of a man whose estate was assessed
r taxation at the highest rate (v. 7).

This house, situated below Munychia, was confiscated for debt to the
blic treasury, and sold by the State.

Extant inscriptions show that power to redeem was a common condition
sale - pointing, perhaps, to a reluctant necessity, which suggests
ortage both of houses and of money.

Sale with power of redemption, *περὶ ἐπὶ λύσει* Ziebarth ad
ttenberger 1191 ita definit. Si res aliqua veniit ἐπὶ λύσει, dominium
idem rei emptor acquisivit ea tamen condicione, ut venditori eodem
etio redimere liceat. Usumfructum vero retinet vendor, atque pro eo
ndit emptori quotannis pecuniam usuris pretii respondentem (I.G. 11-
84).

It may be noted that in a transaction of this kind recorded by
mosthenes, XXXVII.4 and 5 - the sale with power of redemption (*λύσει τούτῳ*
ἐ' ἡμῶν ἐν τινὶ ἐντῷ χερόνῳ) of a workshop and mines at Maronea,
gether with thirty slaves (leased by their owner from the purchaser
r a monthly rent of 105 drachmae) - the selling price subject to
demption was 10,500 drachmae, but that, a year or two later, the same
bjects sold outright (*καθάρως*) brought in 20,600 drachmae (XXXVII.31;
).

000 - 3,000 drachmae			
Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
• IVth c. (1st half)	town-house (valuation)	2,000	Isaeus XI.44 (De Hagniae Hereditate)
• IVth c. (1st half)	town-house, near the sanctuary of Dionysus-in-the- Marshes (valuation)	2,000	Isaeus VIII.35 (De Cironis Hereditate)

ALTER.

TABLE I. (Houses and Business Premises contd.)

,000 - 3,000 drachmae (contd.)

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
2. IVth c. (1st half)	town-house (purchase price)	2,000	Aeschines I.98. (In Timarchum)
3. 364/3	house (alleged security)	2,000	Demoſthenes XXXI.1 (Adv. Onetorem II)
4. IVth c. (2nd half)	house in Athens (sold with power of redemption)	2,000	I.G. ii ² 2729
5. Shortly after 338/7	house in Athens (purchase price)	2,5000 ?	Lycurgus, In Leocratem 22
6. 305/4	house in Attica (security)	2,000	I.G. ii ² 2678

otes.

1. The valuation put upon his own house by the defendant is contemporary with his defence. The date of the speech is discussed above (v. note 6).

It was, of course, to the interest of the defendant to cite as low figure as credibility would permit, in order to heighten the contrast between his own assets and those of Stratocles, who had owned not only town-house for which he had paid 3,000 drachmae but also a country one at Eleusis) which had cost him 500 drachmae (v. Isaeus, XI.5).

2. This note applies equally to item 17. (Table I.)

The date of the speech, with which the valuation is contemporary, falls between 383 and 363 B.C. (v. Loeb edition).

Both houses had belonged to Ciron, whose estate is contested; that near the sanctuary of Dionysus-in-the-Marshes (i.e. south of the Propolis) had been let to a tenant, the other Ciron occupied himself.

It was to the interest of the speaker to assess the property at as high figure as credibility permitted.

3. Aeschines' impeachment of Timarchus for immoral conduct was delivered in 345 B.C., but the charges related to his early life. (He was born, according to Pauly Wissowa, not later than 391/0 B.C.)

In support of his accusation, Aeschines, referring to the immediate disipation by Timarchus of his inheritance, mentions his sale of a town-house to Nausicrates, the comic poet (fl. 350 ?). Nausicrates' sale of the house 'afterwards' may still have been years earlier than 345 B.C..

4. Onetor, brother-in-law of Aphobus, alleged that a house of which/

ELTER.

otes.

rich Demosthenes proposed to take possession in execution of the judgment obtained by him against Aphobus, had been pledged to him as security for part of a sum of money given by him with his sister as a marriage portion. (Pour les hypothèques constituées au profit de femmes mariées, il y a dans Demosthène deux exemples qu'il importe de relever, de bien distinguer. L'un est celui d'Onétor qui, mariant sa soeur à Aphobos et la dotant, prend inscription sur les biens d'Aphobus pour la constitution éventuelle de la dot. L'autre est celui de Polyeuctos qui marie sa fille avec une dot de 4,000d. dont 3,000 payées comptant, et le surplus payable à son décès, et qui pour garantir le paiement de ce surplus, affecte sa maison en hypothèque et fait placer des *Seo*. inscriptions Iuridiques Grecques.) Whether Onetor's contention was true or false, his allegation helps to establish 2,000 drachmae as a representative valuation.

. The stone bearing this inscription was found to the north-west of the Acropolis, in the wall of a dwelling-house facing the gate of the metuary of Amynus.

For 'sale with power of redemption', v. item 9 and note. (Table I.)

. The price must be regarded as approximate, for it is based on the assumption that Amyntas neither made nor lost money on the re-sale, for the *minae*, of the slaves he had purchased from Leocrates, together with the house, for a talent. Leocrates, on news of the Athenian defeat at Chaeronea, had first fled as a refugee to Rhodes, then settled at Mytilene, where he began business with the proceeds of the sale of his property in Athens. On his return to Athens (330 B.C.) he was impeached for treason by Lycurgus.

. Les Athéniens d'alors avaient aussi l'habitude, quand les parents constituaient une dot à l'épouse, de demander au mari un gage de valeur équivalente à la dot, par exemple une maison ou un terrain. (Inscriptions Iuridiques Grecques.) Cf. Table I, note 13.

000 - 2,000 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
. IVth c. (1st half)	town-house (valuation)	1,300	Isaeus VIII.3 and 5. (De Cironis Hereditate)
. Shortly after 368/7	tenement house belonging to Apollodorus, son of Pasion (security)	1,600	Demosthenes LIII.13 (c. Nicostratum)
. c. 359/8	an Athenian's house (security)	1,000	Demosthenes, XLI.5 (c. Spudiam)

(Table continued overleaf)

ALTER.

TABLE I. (Houses and Business Premises contd.)

000 - 2,000 drachmae (contd.)

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
. IVth c. (2nd half)	house in Athens (security)	1,500	I.G. ii ² 2671
. IVth c. (2nd half)	house in Piraeus (sold with power of redemption)	1,000	I.G. ii ² 2732
. IVth c. (2nd half)	premises (οἰκία) in Attica	1,200	I.G. ii ² 2738
. IVth c. (2nd half)	house at Munychia (sold with power of redemption)	1,800	I.G. ii ² 2743
. IVth c. (2nd half)	house in Athens, between the Pnyx and the Areopagus (security)	1,200	I.G. ii ² 2761

Notes.

1. Cf. note 11. (Table I.)

2. The events described by the speaker (including the mortgaging of the enement house) took place shortly after his return to Athens from a hierarchy (Dem. LIII.5), which can be assigned with reasonable certainty to 368/7 B.C. (v. Paley and Sandys).

The house was mortgaged for 16 minae - interest to be paid thereon at the rate of 8 obols the mina each month (LIII.13), that is at 16 per cent.

3. The date given is that of the speech (v. Pauly Wissowa), in which the plaintiff, on the death of his father-in-law, claims 10 minae, owing to him as part of his wife's marriage portion and secured to him in her father's house, direction that tablets of mortgage to the plaintiff should be put up on the house being given in the father's will. Forty minae had been paid in cash at the time of the marriage, and according to the plaintiff a marriage portion of forty minae had been provided for a younger daughter.

Cf. note 13 (Table I.).

4. The stone bearing this inscription was found on a path leading to the Acropolis, on the north side of the sanctuary of Amynus.

Cf. note 16 (Table I.).

ALTER.

BLE I. (Houses and Business Premises contd.)

tes.

- . Cf. note 9 (Table I.).
- . Cf. note 9 (Table I.). Cf. item 39 (Table I.).
- . This house was purchased by the members of a club (ἐκκλησία), one of whom, Pantaretus of Alopecce, is mentioned by name. As a man of this name known to have been an Amphictyon in 390/89 and in 389/8 B.C., this inscription should possibly be assigned to an earlier date (v. I.G. ii² 43). (*For other purchases by members of an association, cf. Table II, items 4 and 9.*)

- . Cf. note 9 (Table I.).
- . The stone bearing this inscription was found in the walls of a house between the Pnyx and the Areopagus.
- . The house seems to have been pledged to two creditors, to one for 1,000 drachmae, to the other for 200 drachmae.

0 - 1,000 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
. IVth c. (1st half)	house in the deme Eleusis (purchase price)	500	Isaeus XI.42 (De Hagniae Hereditate)
. IVth c. (2nd half)	house in Attica (security)	500	I.G. ii ² 2672
. IVth c. (2nd half)	house in Attica (sold with power of redemption)	500	I.G. ii ² 2730
. IVth c. (2nd half)	house in Attica (sold with power of redemption)	800	I.G. ii ² 2733
. IVth c. (2nd half)	house in Eleusis (sold with power of redemption)	700	I.G. ii ² 2737
. Between 343/2 & 340/39	small house (οἰκίδιον) in Athens (purchase price)	700	Demosthenes LIX.39 (In Neaeram)
. 315/4	house in Athens (sold with power of redemption)	700	I.G. ii ² 2744

tes.

- . For date and details, v. note 6 (Table I.).
- . Cf. note 16 (Table I.).

ELTER.

BLE I. (Houses and Business Premises contd.)

tes.

- . Cf. note 9 (Table I.).
- . Cf. note 9 (Table i.).
- . The stone bearing this inscription was found at Eleusis.
- . Cf. note 9 (Table I.).
- . The date^{given} is that of the speech, to which the date of the transaction approximates, since the house is spoken of as that "which now Spintharus is bought for seven minae".
- . That this was a small house (οἰκίδιον) is specified.
- . The stone bearing this inscription was found in the aqueduct of Sistratus, to the west of the Acropolis.
- . Cf. note 9 (Table I.).

0 - 500 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
. 414/3	house in the deme Semachidae (purchase price)	105	I.G. ii ² 328, 15.
. IVth c. (beg.)	house in Salamis (purchase price)	410	I.G. ii ² 1579, 8-15.
. IVth c. (beg.)	house in ? (purchase price)	145	I.G. ii ² 1579, 8-15.
. c.355	small house (valuation)	300	Isaeus II.35 (De Menecelis Hereditate)
. IVth c. (2nd half)	house in Athens (security)	300	I.G. ii ² 2673
. IVth c. (2nd half)	house in Attica (sold with power of redemption)	290	I.G. ii ² 2728
. IVth c. (2nd half)	house in Attica (sold with power of redemption)	270	I.G. ii ² 2735
. IVth c. (2nd half)	premises in Attica (sold with power of redemption)	200	I.G. ii ² 2735
. IVth c. (2nd half)	house in Athens (sold with power of redemption)	400	I.G. ii ² 2736

HELTER.

TABLE I. (Houses and Business Premises contd.)

otes.

2. Semachidae has been put by some among the inland, by others among the coast-demes (v. The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth centuries B.C., p.65).

This house was confiscated property sold by the State. Cf. Table II, 3; Table IV, 40 and 41.

3. & 34. Both of these houses, confiscated and sold by the State, had belonged to the same man, but the location of the second is obliterated.

4. The speaker's valuation is contemporary with his speech. For its date, v. the Loeb edition.

To make striking the contrast between his meagre inheritance and the considerable inroads made on the late owner's property by the contestant, it would be natural for the speaker to minimize the value of the 'little' house (οἰκίδιον, cf. item 30), in so far as he might without taxing his hearers' credulity.

5. Cf. note 16 (Table I.).

6. Cf. note 9 (Table I.).

7. Cf. note 9 (Table I.).

8. Cf. note 9 (Table I.). Cf. item 22 (Table I.). The word here used (κρημα) is that used also for item 22. Item 39 appears on the same stone as item 38.

9. The stone bearing this inscription was found in the neighbourhood of Stadium Street.

10. Cf. note 9 (Table I.).

In a note on his chapter dealing with Landed Property and Mines, Meckh writes (Eng. trans. p.90, n.3): "We find also the pledging or mortgaging of pieces of land for definite sums in inscriptions on *σέοι*. I omit them, since their value cannot with certainty be determined from these memorials. Thus when in C.I.Gr. No. 530, two thousand drachmae *κῆς ἐνοικηλόμενης* are said to have been loaned on the security of a piece of land, the land may have been worth much more." That is no doubt true, but, particularly as the number of such *σέοι* preserved to us suggests a frequent need on the part of the Athenian to pledge house, or land, or both, what these were worth to him as security is not irrelevant to the present inquiry. Such evidence is, therefore, included in the foregoing and following tables; always, however, with an indication of its nature.

In the foregoing table, prices (whether they represent the figure paid, or that put upon a house as its valuation, or that for which the house is actually accepted as security) range from approximately a hundred (v. item 32) to ten thousand drachmae (v. item 1). The following aspectus of the evidence shows by how many items each price is supported. The letters in brackets (P.P., V., S.) variously denote purchase price, valuation, and worth as security. P.P.* denotes purchase price in a sale made with power of redemption.

ASPECTUS OF PRICES LISTED IN TABLE I.

1,000d. - Item 1 (V.).

1,000d. - Items 2 (P.P.), and 3 (P.P.)

ELTER.

INSPECTUS OF PRICES LISTED IN TABLE I (contd.)

400d.	- Item 5 (S.)
000d.	- Item 4 (V.)
705d. 2ob.	- Item 8 (P.P.)
000d.	- Items 6 (P.P.), 7 (P.P.), and 9 (P.P.*)
500d.	- Item 15 (P.P.)
000d.	- Items 10 (V.), 11 (V.), 12 (P.P.), 13 (S.), 14 (P.P.*) and 16 (S.)
800d.	- Item 23 (P.P.*)
500d.	- Item 18 (S.)
500d.	- Item 20 (S.)
300d.	- Item 17 (V.)
300d.	- Items 22 (P.P.*) and 24 (S.)
000d.	- Items 19 (S.) and 21 (P.P.*)
800d.	- Item 28 (P.P.*)
700d.	- Items 29 (P.P.*), 30 (P.P.), and 31 (P.P.*)
500d.	- Items 25 (P.P.), 26 (S.), and 27 (P.P.*)
410d.	- Item 33 (P.P.)
400d.	- Item 40 (P.P.*)
300d.	- Items 35 (V.), and 36 (S.)
290d.	- Item 37 (P.P.*)
270d.	- Item 38 (P.P.*)
200d.	- Item 39 (P.P.*)
145d.	- Item 34 (P.P.)
105d.	- Item 32 (P.P.)

With the figures contained in Table I may be compared prices found in an interesting inscription from Tenos, belonging to the end of the fourth or to the beginning of the third century B.C. (I.G. xii.5.872). It lists town-houses ranging from sixty drachmae to two thousand three hundred and twenty. One costing 2,070d. has certain fittings specified. The entry reads "a town-house with its nine folding doors ($\theta\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\omega\nu\ \xi\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\alpha\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\lambda\alpha$) and window-shutters ($\alpha\tau\ \theta\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\alpha\ \alpha\tau\ \epsilon\pi\iota\ \tau\omega\nu\ \theta\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\omega\nu$). Other town-houses are mentioned, costing 1,287d. 4ob., 1,000d., 900d., 650d., and 235d. Two houses - not stated to be $\epsilon\nu\ \lambda\omicron\tau\epsilon\iota$ are entered at 1,700d. and 100d. respectively. Again 100d. appears as the price of all the erections ($\kappa\omicron\delta\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota$) in a particular street.

The foregoing prices relate specifically to houses; those in the following table to houses with a garden or other adjunct, and to land with a house.

TABLE II. (Houses with a garden or other adjunct; land with a house)

over 10,000 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
Between 394/3 & 390/89	a house, together with more than 300 plethra (i.e. more than 66 acres) of land (purchase price)	30,000	Lysias XIX.29 & 42 (De Bonis Aristophanis)

ELTER.

TABLE II. (Houses with a garden or other adjunct; land with a house
contd.)

te.

For the date, v. Table I, note 3.

In Lysias XIX. 29, Aristophanes is said to have acquired, in addition to a house for which he paid fifty minae, more than 300 plethra of land (ἢς τε πλέον ἢ τετρακόντια πλέθρα), and in XIX. 42, the land and the house together are said to have cost "more than five talents" (πλεον ἢ πέντε τάλαντων). Discount the words "more than" in each case, - it is to the speaker's interest to magnify - subtract the cost of the house from the rest of the whole, and 300 plethra of land cost 25,000d. This puts the price of a plethron at 83d.2ob., the equivalent in Attic drachmae of the deposit (50 Corinthian drachmae) which in 436/5 B.C. was to secure to those who did not wish to sail immediately a share in the Corinthian colony to Epidamnus (Thucydides I. 27).

000 - 10,000 drachmae

evidence.

000 - 9,000 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
IVth c. (2nd half)	land and a house in Attica (security)	8,000	I.G. ii ² 2659

te.

The stone bearing this inscription was found at Keratea, north-west of Piraeus. (Cf. Table II, items 8 and 12; Table IV, item 29.)

Cf. Table I, note 16.

A property, purchased for 8,000d., is mentioned in the inscription from Tenos (I.G. xii.5.872) to which reference is made above (p. 41) - house and lands, with water-supply and farm implements. A half share in this was re-sold for 4,000d.

000 - 8,000 drachmae

evidence

000 - 7,000 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
IVth c. (middle)	a house and workshops in Athens (sold with power of redemption)	6,000	I.G. ii ² 3752

IVth c. (2nd half)	land and a house in Attica (sold with power of redemption)	6,000	I.G. ii ² 2699
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HELTER.

TABLE II. (Houses with a garden or other adjunct; land with a house contd.)

otes.

The stone bearing this inscription was found near the Dipylon Gate. There must have been at least three workshops, as the inscription distinguishes between "those inside" and "the one outside" (a stone-mason's shop) the wall.

Other references to workshops record the pledging, with a condition of reciprocal usage (cf. Table II, note 25), of a workshop, garden, and spring in Athens, on the banks of the Ilissus, in the second half of the fourth century B.C. for 300d. (I.G. ii² 2759); the pledging of a workshop in the neighbourhood of the Agora, during the same period, for 50d. (I.G. ii² 2760); the sale, in 342/1 (?), of two confiscated workshops in the deme Melite (a town deme), for 1,500d. (Hesperia, vol. V., 1936, pp. 397-403). A mining workshop near Thoricus, together with an unspecified number of slaves, was sold with power of redemption in the second half of the fourth century B.C., for 6,000d. (I.G. ii² 2747); a similar sale, belonging to the same period, - the stone bearing the inscription was found at Marcopoulo, east of the southern tip of Hymettus was effected for 700d. (I.G. ii² 2749); and the sale with power of redemption, in 348/7 B.C., of such a workshop at Maronea, together with thirty slaves, for 10,500d. is recorded by Demosthenes (XXXVII. 4 and 5), as is its subsequent sale outright, together with the thirty slaves, for 10,000d. (XXXVII. 31 and 50). As in Table I, note 9, the price secured for the outright sale is roughly double that paid for the sale with power of redemption.

For explanation of the expression "sold with power of redemption", v. Table I, note 9.

The stone bearing this inscription comes from Spata, east of the north tip of Hymettus. (Cf. Table II, item 10)

The purchase was made by the members of an association. (Cf. Table I, item 23.)

The inscription from Tenos records the sale of a property for 6,000d. a house and lands, with water-supply, earthenware cistern, doors and other equipment.

000 - 6,000 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
Between 300/29 & 291/0	land and a house in Attica, let on a ten years' lease, at a yearly rent of 600d. (selling price to tenant at any time within the term of the lease)	5,000	I.G. ii ² 1241
519/8	land, a house, and a garden in Attica (sold with power of redemption)	5,000	I.G. ii ² 2724

HELTER.

TABLE II. (Houses with a garden or other adjunct; land with a house
(contd.)

otes.

This property was situated in the deme Myrrhinous, east of the southern tip of Hymettus.

v. Table VI, note 1, and cf. Table IV, note 3.

The stone bearing this inscription was found at Koropi. The property was, therefore, situated in the ancient deme of Sphettus, north-west of Myrrhinous (v. Table II, note 5).

Cf. Table I, note 9.

With these items may be compared two entries in the inscription from Tenos (I.G. xii.5.872), which belongs either to the end of the fourth or to the beginning of the third century B.C. - a house and lands, with water-supply, and a house and lands, each bought for 5,000d.. An inscription of similar date from Amorgos records the sale of a house, a pottery, and various lands, subject to redemption, for 5,000d. (I.G. xii.55), the seller holding the property in usufruct for a nett annual payment of 500d..

000 - 5,000 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
IVth c. (2nd half)	land and a house in Attica (security)	4,500	I.G. ii ² 2662

IVth c. (2nd half)	land and a house in Attica (sold with power of redemption)	4,000	I.G. ii ² 2694
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tes.

The stone bearing this inscription was found in the plain of Thria, between Athens and Eleusis.

Cf. Table I, note 16.

The stone bearing this inscription was found at Keratea, between Athens and Laurium, north-west of Thoricus. (Cf. Table II, items 2 and 12 and Table IV, item 29.)

The sum of 4,950 drachmae appears in the inscription from Tenos (I.G. xii.5.872, v. above) as the price paid for a house and lands, and 4,700 drachmae as the price paid for houses, a pottery, lands and aqueducts.

000 - 4,000 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
IVth c. (2nd half)	land and a house in Attica (purchase price)	3,000	I.G. ii ² 2764

te.

This property seems to have been sold unconditionally to the members/

ALTER.

BLE II. (Houses with a garden or other adjunct; land with a house contd.)
tes (contd.)

members of a club (cf. Table I, item 23; Table II, item 4). Its location unknown.

In the inscription from Tenos (I.G. xii.5.872), 3,700d. purchased
uses and lands, including aqueducts, a quarter share in a tower, the
reservoir in the tower and the tiled roof, another house and garden,
earthenware cisterns in the houses, a millstone and a mortar.

000 - 3,000 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
1. IVth c. (2nd half)	land and a house in Attica (security)	2,000	I.G. ii ² 2661
2. IVth c. (2nd half)	land and a house in Attica (sold with power of redemption)	2,000 ?	I.G. ii ² 2687
3. IVth c. (2nd half)	land and a house in Attica (sold with power of redemption)	2,200	I.G. ii ² 2693
4. IVth c. (2nd half)	land and a house in Attica (sold with power of redemption)	2,000+	I.G. ii ² 2696
5. IVth c. (2nd half)	land and a house in Attica (sold with power of redemption)	2,000	I.G. ii ² 2700
6. 305/4	lands and houses in Attica (security)	2,720	I.G. ii ² 2679

Notes.

0. The stone bearing this inscription was found at Spata, east of the
north tip of Hymettus. (Cf. Table ii, items 4, 15, 122 and 23.)

Cf. Table I, note 16.

1. The stone bearing this inscription comes from a private house at
Atissia, north of Athens, so that the property would seem to have been
in the ancient deme of Acharne.

The figure is uncertain. It is published as XX, but a note records
post haec signa vestigia numeri 7.

Cf. Table I, note 9.

2. The stone with this inscription was found at Keratea, between Athens
and Laurium, north-west of Thoricus (cf. Table II, items 2 and 8).

The stone really bears two inscriptions. The first records the sale/

HELETER.

TABLE II. (Houses with a garden or other adjunct; land with a house contd.)
 notes (contd.)

sale of the property to two purchasers, Aristophon and Antocles for 1,100d., the second its sale to Antocles alone for 2,200d. - possibly the first arrangement, which would seem to have fallen through, was that each should pay 1,100d... A note on the inscription reads: Ex hoc termino qui bis in sum vocatus est, colligitur eundem fundum eandemque domum primum veniisse Aristophanti et Antocli, tum cum ille nescio qua de causa de emptione transisset Antocli soli, qui iam duplum solvit.
 For conditions of sale, v. Table I, note 9.

3. The figure is uncertain. It is published as XX-.

Cf. Table I, note 9.

4. The stone bearing this inscription comes from Daphni, between Athens and Eleusis.

Cf. Table I, note 9.

5. The stone bearing this inscription was found at Spata, east of the northern tip of Hymettus (cf. Table II, items 4, 10, 22 and 23.).

Cf. Table I, notes 16 and 13.

The inscription has been variously explained by scholars (v. Bull. III. II, 1878, p. 485): Agitur hic de dimidia parte Xenaristae dotis, quae fuit 4,000d. et de usuris biennii, quae sunt ἐπ' ἐννέα ἀρολῶν 720d. This Xenaristae agrum pro dote oppignaverit, viri docti adhuc ambigunt. Neque Koehler, cum plerumque eiusmodi lapides imponantur agris maritorum, sed aut ipsi a socero dotis nomine dantur, aut oppignantur pro dote aut integra aut parte solum dotis, coniecit etiam hic maritum hypothecam constituisse priore parte dotis acceptis, matrimonio tum dissoluto tamen obis annis post coniuges in gratiam rediisse ea condicione ut marito altera pars dotis nondum persolveretur, neque tamen usurae prioris partis dotis reddendae essent, quae simul cum capite per hypothecam ei perscriberantur. Quam coniecturam probatam a Lipsio, Das Att. Recht. u. Griech. Rechtsvers II, 499, nec non O. Schulters Woch Klass. Phil. 1892, 794 et F. Hilzig Griech. Pfandrechte 44 et Szanto et Billeter et Pappulias novis et saepe gravibus argumentis fulciebant. Contra Dareste eumque secuti Fraud. Propr. fonc. en Grèce 290 nec non Dittenberger patrem uxoris Theodorum hypothecam constituisse putant, qui, cum Euxenippo archonte Atheniensium civem cuidam in matrimonium daret, dotem quattuor milium drachmarum constituit sed non numeravit. Cf. Dem. XLI.5. Duobus annis post dimidiam partem cum eiusdem partis usuris duorum annorum persolvit. At cum etiam tum deberet altera duo milia drachmarum eiusdem biennii usuris, in locum lapidis, quo domus et fundi obligati erant in totam quattuor milium summam, hunc substituit. The second explanation seems the more straightforward. The father's inability to make full payment of his daughter's dowry and his consequent pledging of property are certainly paralleled in Demosthenes XLI.5. I have not, however, examined the strong arguments brought forward in support of the view that the inscription records, not the liability of the father for an unpaid instalment of the dowry together with the interest accruing, but the security offered by the husband for half of the dowry already paid and further supplemented by two years' interest thereon, due to the father left by him in the husband's hands as part payment of the half still outstanding.

With these entries may be compared the sale, in 314/3 B.C., with power of redemption, of land and a house in Tenos for the sum of over two, but/

HELTER.TABLE II. (Houses with a garden or other adjunct; land with a house
contd.)

Notes (contd.)

at under five, thousand drachmae. The figures which begin XX, are incomplete (I.G. xii.8.18). In the inscription from Tenos (I.G. xii.5.872) belonging to the end of the fourth or to the beginning of the third century B.C., the following purchases are recorded: a house, lands and buildings for 2,500d.; a house and lands for 2,300d.; houses, a quarter share in the tower, and lands for 2,400d.; a half share in a house and lands and water-supply for 2,500d.; and lands, a house, equipment and aqueducts for 2,500d.

1,000 - 2,000 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
6. 414/3	oak coppice, ilex grove, a house and eight wine-jars (purchase price)	1,800	I.G. ii ² 328
7. c.398/7	property in the deme Cicynna, viz. land and a house (valuation)	1,000	Lysias XVII.5;7;8 (De Pecuniis Publicis)
8. IVth c. (2nd half)	house and garden in Attica (security)	1,700	I.G. ii ² 2675
9. IVth c. (2nd half)	land and a house in Athens (sold with power of redemption)	1,130	I.G. ii ² 2685
10. IVth c. (2nd half)	land and a house in Attica (sold with power of redemption)	1,500	I.G. ii ² 2688

Notes.

6. This inscription records the sale of property confiscated in connection with the mutilation of the Hermae and the profanation of the mysteries (cf. Table III, item 1; Table IV, items 40 and 41; Table I, item 32).

7. The speaker's valuation is contemporary with the speech. For the date, therefore, v. the Loeb edition.

The deme of Cicynna (probably a coast deme) was in the south of/

HELTER.TABLE II. (Houses with a garden or other adjunct; land with a house
contd.)

otes (contd.)

f Attica.

This figure may be an underestimate, for, while the speaker, as proof of his good faith, protests that, should the sale of this property by auction bring in a bigger sum, he will relinquish the difference to the state, he is at pains to appear excessively modest in his demands. entitled, as he contends he is, to a third of the whole estate, he claims only this and another smaller property at Sphettus (which he estimates at five minae), although the official valuation of the whole puts its worth at more than a talent, i.e., on his showing, at more than four times the value of the two properties for which he is suing.

8. Cf. Table I, note 16.

9. The stone bearing this inscription was found near the spring of Allirrhoe, at the foot of the east side of the Pnyx.

Cf. Table I, note 9.

10. The stone bearing this inscription was found at Dionyso, beneath the northern slopes of Pentelicon, in the ancient deme of Icaria.

Cf. Table I, note 9.

For comparison with these entries may be noted the sale, subject to redemption, of land and a house in Lemnos for 1,000d., in 314/3 B.C. (I.G. i.8.19); and the purchase of a house and lands in Tenos at the end of the fourth or at the beginning of the third century B.C. for 1,678d.3ob. (I.G. xii.5.872).

0 - 1,000 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
IVth c. (Before middle)	land and a house (purchase price)	500	I.G. ii ² 1580
IVth c. (Before middle)	land and a house in Attica (security)	800	I.G. ii ² 2654
IVth c. (2nd half)	land and a house in Attica (sold with power of redemption)	630	I.G. ii ² 2701
IVth c. (2nd half)	house and refuse dump (κοτεών) in Athens (sold with power of redemption)	800	I.G. ii ² 2742

(Table continued overleaf)

ALTER.

TABLE II. (Houses with a garden or other adjunct; land with a house
contd.)

0 - 1,000 drachmae (contd.)

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
IVth c. (2nd half)	land and a house in Athens (security with a condition of reciprocal usage - ἀντίχρησις)	800	I.G. ii ² 2758

tes.

For details, v. Table II, note 4.

The stone bearing this inscription was found at Spata, east of the northern tip of Hymettus (cf. Table II, items 4, 10, 15, and 23).

This property was pledged by a guardian as security for the discharge of his obligation to his wards.

3. This stone also comes from Spata (cf. Table II, items 4, 10, 15 and 2).

Cf. Table I, note 9.

Cf. Table I, note 9.

5. The note on such a transaction reads: Pro pecunia mutua data pignus fundus ita quidem, ut creditori tradatur ager, qui eius fructum usurarum loco percipiat. The property was not only pledged to the creditor, it passed into his possession and he enjoyed its revenues in lieu of interest on his loan. (Cf. Table IV, note 30.)

A property in Lemnos - land and a house - was sold outright, in the fourth century B.C., for 800d. (I.G. xii.8.22). In Tenos, at the end of the fourth or at the beginning of the third century B.C., the following prices were paid: for a house and lands, 500d.; for a town-house, with its doors and the whole of the site adjoining, 600d.; for a half share in lands, a house and tower, 750d.; for a house and lands, 850d.; for a house and lands, 500d.; and for a house and lands, 700d.

0 - 500 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
IVth c. (2nd half)	land and a house in Attica (sold with power of redemption)	300	I.G. ii ² 2684
IVth c. (2nd half)	land and a house in Attica (sold with power of redemption)	400	I.G. ii ² 2686

(Table continued overleaf)

HELTER.TABLE II. (Houses with a garden or other adjunct; land with a house
contd.)

100 - 500 drachmae (contd.)

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
8. 315/4	land and a house in Attica (sold with power of redemption)	447d.4ob.	I.G. ii ² 2726

Notes.

6. Cf. Table I, note 9.

7. The stone bearing this inscription was found at Menidi, between Athens and Phyle, in the deme, therefore, of Acharne.

Cf. Table I, note 9.

8. Cf. Table I, note 9.

There is record of the sale, with power of redemption, of land and a house in Lemnos, between 314/3 and 307/6 B.C., for 400d. (I.G. xii.8.19). In Tenos, at the end of the fourth or at the beginning of the third century B.C., four hundred drachmae were paid for a half share in lands and a house, for a house and lands, and for another house and lands (I.G. ii.5.872). In the same inscription is recorded the sale - and subsequent redemption - of a house and lands for 300d. A half share in a town-house and its doors, together with a half share in a building site, was bought for 250d.

In the following conspectus, showing by how many items each of the recorded prices is supported, indication of the nature of the evidence is given, as in the conspectus of prices listed in Table I. The bracketed letters (P.P.), (V.), and (S.) variously denote purchase price, valuation and worth as security. (P.P.*) indicates a sale with power of redemption.

CONSPECTUS OF PRICES LISTED IN TABLE II.

0,000d.	- Item 1 (P.P.)
3,000d.	- Item 2 (S.)
6,000d.	- Items 3 (P.P.*) and 4 (P.P.*)
9,000d.	- Items 5 (P.P.) and 6 (P.P.*)
4,500d.	- Item 7 (S.)
4,000d.	- Item 8 (P.P.*)
6,000d.	- Item 9 (P.P.)
2,720d.	- Item 15 (S.)
2,200d.	- Item 12 (P.P.*)
3,000d.+	- Item 13 (P.P.*)
4,000d.	- Items 10 (S.), 11 ? (P.P.*), and 14 (P.P.*)
4,800d.	- Item 16 (P.P.)
1,700d.	- Item 18 (S.)
1,500d.	- Item 20 (P.P.*)
1,130d.	- Item 19 (P.P.*)
1,000d.	- Item 17 (V.)
800d.	- Items 22 (S.), 24 (P.P.*), and 25 (S.)
630d.	- Item 23 (P.P.*)
500d.	- Item 21 (P.P.)

(CONSPECTUS CONTINUED OVERLEAF)

ELTER.

INSPECTUS OF PRICES LISTED IN TABLE II (contd.)

7d. 4ob. - Item 28 (P.P.*)
 Od. - Item 27 (P.P.*)
 Od. - Item 26 (P.P.*)

If it may be assumed (v. Table I, note 9, and Table II, note 3) that the price paid for a sale with power of redemption was regularly about half the price required for an outright purchase, the prices for land and a house range, on the evidence, from about six hundred to thirty thousand drachmae.

Prices relating to building sites are so few that chronological grouping, without reference to value, is possible. They are as follows:

TABLE III. (Building sites)

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
414/3	building site beside the Temple of Apollo on the Sacred Way to Eleusis (purchase price)	1,200	I.G. ii ² 325
IVth c. middle)	building sites in the deme Oenoe (purchase price)	550	I.G. ii ² 1594
IVth c. After middle)	land and a building site at Phaleron (purchase price)	11,600	I.G. ii ² 1598
IVth c. 2nd half)	building sites in Athens (security)	500	I.G. ii ² 2676

Notes.

The note on the location of this site reads: hodie fere . . . This item appears in the records of the sale of property confiscated by the State after the mutilation of the Hermæ and profanation of the mysteries (cf. Table I, item 32, Table II, item 16, Table IV, items 40 and 41).

The sale of these sites is listed in the records of the tax of a hundredth part of the price paid on the sale of landed property. (Cf. Table III, item 3; Table IV, items 21, 26, 27, 35, 36, 37, 42-7, 53-9.) The deme of Oenoe was situated in north east Attica, between Aphidna and Marathon (cf. Table IV, items 39 and 43).

A similar inscription records the sale of land and a building site at Phaleron. (Cf. Table III, item 2; Table IV, items 21, 26, 27, 35, 36, 42-7, 53-9.)

Cf. Table I, note 16.

ALTER.

INSPECTUS OF PRICES LISTED IN TABLE III.

,600d. - Item 3 (P.P.)
 ,200d. - Item 1 (P.P.)
 550d. - Item 2 (P.P.)
 500d. - Item 4 (S.)

A considerable number of prices relating to land are extant. These are:

TABLE IV. (Land)

over 10,000 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
Between 394/3 & 390/89	more than 300 plethra of land (purchase price)	25,000+	Lysias XIX.29 and 42 (De Bonis Aristophanis)
IVth c. (beg.)	land (ἀγρός) in the deme of Eleusis (valuation)	12,000	Isaeus XI.41 (De Hagniae Hereditate)
IVth c. (beg.)	land (ἀγρός) in the deme of Thria (purchase price)	15,000	Isaeus XI.42 (De Hagniae Hereditate)
IVth c. After middle)	land (χωρίον) and a building site at Phaleron (purchase price)	11,600	I.G. ii ² 1598
IVth c. After middle)	lands (two properties χωρίον, ἑταεὶον χωρίον) in the deme Halae (purchase price)	24,000	I.G. ii ² 1598

Notes.

For date and details, v. Table I, note 3, and Table II, note 1.

For date and details, v. Table I, note 6. The land at Eleusis (a legacy to one of his daughters) had been under the control of Stratocles for nine years before his death.

For date and comment, v. Table I, note 6. The land at Thria (north-east of Eleusis) is the first item mentioned by Theopompus when he details Stratocles' estate. The context suggests that to have owned land for which he had paid two and a half talents clearly stamped Stratocles as a man of means. This land at Thria was let for an annual rent of twelve minae. It paid its owner, therefore, a dividend of eight per cent. towards the end of the fourth century or at the beginning of the third century B.C. land and a house in the deme Myrrhinous yielded its owner a dividend of twelve per cent (v. Table II, item 5; cf. Table IV, note 1). v. Table III, note 3.

HELTER.

TABLE IV. (Land)

Notes (contd.)

These lands, south of the city boundary, were sold to one purchaser. The sale is listed in an inscription recording the tax of a hundredth part of the price on the sale of landed property. (Cf. Table III, items 1 and 3; Table IV, items 4, 21, 26, 27, 35, 36, 37, 42-7, 53-9.)

10,000 - 10,000 drachmae

No evidence.

10,000 - 9,000 drachmae

No evidence.

10,000 - 8,000 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
Between 378/7 & 355/4	land (part of a property, $\chi\omega\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$) (purchase price)	7,000	Isaeus II.29; cf. 32 and 34 (De Menecles Hereditate)
373/2 or 371/0	land ($\alpha\gamma\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$) in the deme Athmonon (purchase price)	7,500	Isaeus VI.33 (De Philoctemonis Hereditate)

Notes.

The circumstances of this sale were as follows: Menecles, lately deceased (whose adopted son is presently defending Philonides, his father-in-law, against a charge of perjury, brought by the brother of Menecles in respect of evidence given by Philonides in support of the speaker's right to inherit Menecles' property) - Menecles, lacking ready money with which to restore to a ward, on his coming of age, the capital left in trust by the child's father, together with the accumulated interest, found himself obliged to sell some land. Part of the property proposed to sell was immediately claimed by his brother; for the remainder, however, he got seventy minae. (The implication is that the land "worth more than ten minae" which the brother is later (Isaeus II.35) presented as possessing was acquired by him as a result of this claim v. Table IV, item and note 25.)

From the speech itself (28) it is clear that the sale took place after Menecles' adoption of the speaker. The sale is entered, therefore, as taking place between the date of the adoption (for which v. Loeb edition) and Menecles' death.

For the date, v. Table I, note 5.

Athmonon was near the modern Amarousi, north-east of Athens.

ALTER.

TABLE IV. (Land contd.)

000 - 7,000 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
IVth c. (1st half)	land in the deme Phlya (ἀγρός) (valuation)	6,000	Isaeus VIII.35 (De Cironis Hereditate)
370/69	land in Peparethus (security) (περὶκα ἐπιδίδωμι 'λεχιππη τάλαντον μὲν τὸ ἐκ Πέπαρθου...)	6,000	Demosthenes XLV.28 (In Stephanum I)
370/69	land in Attica (security) (...τάλαντον δὲ τὸ αὐτόθεν)	6,000	Demosthenes XLV.28
364/3	land (χρεῖον) (alleged security)	6,000	Demosthenes XXXI.1 (Adv. Onetorem, II)
IVth c. (2nd half)	land in Attica (χρεῖον) (security)	6,000	I.G. ii 2670
IVth c. (2nd half)	land in Attica (χρεῖον) (sold with power of redemption)	6,000	I.G. ii ² 2713

Notes.

For date and detail, cf. Table I, note 11.

This land - easily worth a talent (τάλαντον ἑξῆς ἀξίον) - is the first item in the list of Ciron's property detailed by the speaker, whose desire is to make his inventory as impressive as possible.

Phlya was an inland deme north-west of Hymettus, south-west of Pentelicon.

9. & 10. For date and circumstances, v. Table I, note 1.

In addition to the tenement house valued at a hundred minae, a portion left to Archippe, his widow, as part of her dowry for re-marriage with Phormio, two talents, one secured on property in Peparethus, the other on property in Attica. These two talents may have constituted Archippe's original dowry. Cf. Table I, notes 16 and 13, for the practice of requiring the husband to give security for the dowry received with his wife. Peparethus, the modern Scopelos, one of the Sporades north-west of Skyros, is extremely fertile. The vine, the olive and the almond are cultivated there.

1. Cf. Table I, note 13.

SHELTER.

TABLE IV. (Land contd.)

Notes.

11. Cf. Table I, note 13.

Onetor alleged that this land had been pledged to him by Aphobus, his brother-in-law, as security for part of a sum given with his sister as a marriage portion.

12. Cf. Table I, note 16.

Not only was this land to provide security for a dowry of a talent, it was further pledged for the sum by which its valuation exceeded a talent.

The stone bearing the inscription comes from Amarousi, north-east of Athens (cf. Table IV, item 7), that is from the ancient deme of Athmonon.

13. Cf. Table I, note 9.

5,000 - 6,000 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
14. IVth c. (1st half)	land in the deme Oenoe ($\chi\omega\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$) (valuation)	5,000	Isaeus XI.44 (De Hagniae Hereditate)

15. 313/2	land in Attica (part of a property - $\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \mu\epsilon\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \chi\omega\epsilon\iota\omicron\)$ (security)	5,100	I.G. ii ² 2680
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Notes.

14. v. Table I, note 10.

In addition to a house in Athens worth two thousand drachmae, the defendant admits the possession of this land in the deme Oenoe worth four thousand drachmae, and of land at Prospalta worth three thousand drachmae. He mentions also the estate left by Hagnias, which he supposes (no doubt naming as low a figure as possible) to be worth about two talents. Evidently fearing that his hearers may think his possessions far from inconsiderable, he hastens to add that he has included in his reckoning those of his son, who has been adopted into another family.

15. The land on which five thousand, one hundred drachmae were secured seems to have been only part of a larger property.

Cf. Table I, notes 13 and 16.

4,000 - 5,000 drachmae

No evidence.

HELTER.

TABLE IV. (Land contd.)

,000 - 4,000 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
IVth c. (1st half)	land in the deme Prospalta (Χωρίον) (valuation)	3,000	Isaeus XI.44 and 49. (De Hagniae Hereditate)
c. 362/1	land belonging to Apollodorus, son of Pasion (Χωρίον) (security)	3,000	Demosthenes L.13 (c. Polyclem)
IVth c. (2nd half)	land in Attica (Χωρίον) (sold with power of redemption)	3,000	I.G. ii ² 2721
Notes.			
. Cf. Table I, note 10, and Table IV, note 14.			
. Prospalta lay south-east of Hymettus.			
. Apollodorus raised a loan on his land to provide ready money for the equipment of the crew of his trireme.			
. The stone bearing this inscription was found at Eleusis.			
. Cf. Table I, note 9.			
,000 - 3,000 drachmae			
Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
IVth c. (1st half)	land in the deme Alopece (Χωρίον) (purchase price)	2,000	Aeschines, In Timarchum I.99
c. 350	land in Attica (Χωρίον) (sold with power of redemption)	2,550	I.G. ii ² 2723
IVth c. (2nd half)	land in Salamis (Χωρίον) (sold with power of redemption)	2,000+	I.G. ii ² 1596

ALTER.

TABLE IV. (Land contd.)

000 - 3,000 drachmae (contd.)

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
. IVth c. (2nd half)	land ($\chi\omega\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$) in Attica (sold with power of redemption)	2,000	I.G. ii ² 2703
. IVth c. (2nd half)	land ($\chi\omega\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$) in Attica (sold with power of redemption)	2,800	I.G. ii ² 2705
. 313/2	land ($\chi\omega\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$) in Attica (security)	2,000	I.G. ii ² 2762

Notes.

. v. Table I, note 12. The land in Alopecce was another piece of marchus' patrimony which ~~he~~ lost no time in converting into ready money.

. Cf. Table I, note 9.

In this sale various purchasers were involved. The share of the total paid by each varied. Component sums were 1,500d.; 200d.; 600d.; 160d.; and 100d.

. This sale is listed in the records of the tax of a hundredth part on the sale of land. (Cf. Table III, items 2 and 3; Table IV, items 4, 5, 26, 35-7, 42-7, 53-9.) The figure has been partially defaced. (XX --)

. Cf. Table I, note 9.

. Cf. Table I, note 9.

Five hundred drachmae of the total sum were paid by one man, two thousand, three hundred drachmae by two others.

. This land, which was in the deme Acharne, north of Athens, was the pledge given for a debt.

000 - 2,000 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
. c.355	land ($\chi\omega\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$) in Attica (valuation)	1,000+	Isaeus II.35 (De Meneclis Hereditate)
. IVth c. (After middle)	land in the deme Cydantidae ($\chi\omega\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$) (purchase price)	1,000	I.G. ii ² 1597
. IVth c. (After middle)	land in the deme Cydantidae ($\chi\omega\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$) (purchase price)	1,375	I.G. ii ² 1597

HELTER.

TABLE IV. (Land contd.)

0,000 - 2,000 drachmae (contd.)

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
8. IVth c. (2nd half)	land ($\chi\omega\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$) in Attica (security)	1,500	I.G. ii ² 2663
9. IVth c. (2nd half)	land ($\chi\omega\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$) in Attica (security)	1,800	I.G. ii ² 2668
10. IVth c. (2nd half)	land ($\chi\omega\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$) in Attica (sold with power of redemption)	1,050	I.G. ii ² 2681
11. IVth c. (2nd half)	land ($\chi\omega\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$) in Attica (sold with power of redemption)	1,000	I.G. ii ² 2702
12. IVth c. (2nd half)	land ($\chi\omega\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$) in Attica (sold with power of redemption)	1,000	I.G. ii ² 2712
13. IVth c. (2nd half)	land ($\chi\omega\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$) in Attica (sold with power of redemption)	1,200	I.G. ii ² 2719

Notes.

15. Cf. Table I, note 35, and Table IV, note 6.

To emphasize the rapacity of his opponent, the speaker draws attention to the fact that, whereas he himself has received from Menecles' estate only three hundred drachmae (which remained from the proceeds of the sale of the land to discharge Menecles' obligation to a ward - v. Isaeus II.1), and a small house ("not worth three minae"), his opponent is in possession of land "worth more than ten minae".

16. & 27. These sales appear in a list recording the tax of a hundredth part of the price on the sale of land. (Cf. Table III, items 2 and 3; Table IV, items 4, 5, 21, 35-7, 42-7, and 53-9.) For Cydantidae, v. Table IV, item 44.

18. Cf. Table I, note 16.

The stone bearing this inscription was found at Porto Rhaphti, on the south-east coast of Attica.

19. Cf. Table I, note 16.

The stone bearing this inscription was found at Keratea, between Athens and Laurium, north-west of Thorius (cf. Table II, items 2, 8, and 12).

20. The stone bearing this inscription comes from Hymettus.

A dowry of one thousand and fifty drachmae had been settled on Euthydike, but in place of the money (cf. Table I, note 13) land had/

HELTER.

TABLE IV. (Land contd.)

Notes (contd.)

had been transferred to her husband (who was to enjoy its produce as interest - cf. Table II, note 25) as a sale with power of redemption (cf. Table I, note 9).

1. Cf. Table I, note 9.

2. Cf. Table I, note 9.

The stone bearing this inscription comes from Marcopoulo, east of the southern tip of Hymettus (cf. Table II, note 3).

3. Cf. Table I, note 9.

The stone bearing this inscription comes from Tatoi, north of Athens, from the ancient deme of Decalea.

The sale was to members of an association (cf. Table I, item 23; Table II, items 4 and 9).

00 - 10,000 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
4. 398/7	land in the deme Sphettus ($\chi\omega\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$) (valuation)	500	Lysias XVII.5; 7; 8. (De Pecuniis Publicis)
5. IVth c. (middle)	boundary land ($\epsilon\sigma\chi\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha$) in the deme Aphidna (purchase price)	500	I.G. ii ² 1594
6. IVth c. (middle)	boundary and other land (two properties - $\epsilon\sigma\chi\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha$; $\chi\omega\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$) in Aphidna (purchase price)	500	I.G. ii ² 1594
7. IVth c. (middle)	land in the deme Anaphlystus ($\chi\omega\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$) (purchase price)	800	I.G. ii ² 1596
8. IVth c. (2nd half)	land in Attica ($\chi\omega\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$) (sold with power of redemption)	900	I.G. ii ² 2711
9. 342/1 ?	land in the deme Oenoe ($\chi\omega\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$) (purchase price)	680	Hesperia, vol. V., 1936, pp. 397-403

Notes.

4. For date and details, v. Table II, note 17.

ALTER.

TABLE IV. (Land contd.)

Notes (contd.)

5. In a note on this inscription the explanation of the word ἐσχατιά given by the lexicographer Harpocration (fl. 350 A.D.?) is quoted: τὰ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει τῶν χωρίων ἐσχατιάς ἔλεγον, οἷς γείτονά εἴτε ὄρος εἴτε θάλασσα. Aphidna was an inland deme, east of Mount Parnes. This sale is listed in the records of the tax of a hundredth part on the sale of land (cf. Table III, items 2 and 3; Table IV, items 4, 5, 21, 27, 36, 37, 42-7, 53-9).
6. Cf. Table IV, note 35.
7. Anaphlystus was a deme in the south-western tip of Attica. This sale is listed in the records of the tax of a hundredth part on the sale of land (cf. Table IV, note 35).
8. Cf. Table I, note 9.
- The stone bearing this inscription was found at the modern village Chasia, below Phyle.
9. This land, on which the sum of 666d.4ob. had been secured to the tribe Aiantis was sold (to meet the tribe's claim) for 680d. The deme of Oenoe (cf. Table III, item 2, and Table IV, item 43) was situated in north-east Attica, between Aphidna and Marathon.

100 - 500 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
414/3	land in the deme Gargettus (χωρίον) (purchase price)	105	I.G. i ² 328
414/5	land in Attica (χωρίον) (purchase price)	205	I.G. i ² 328
IVth c. (middle)	border land (two properties - ἐσχατιά; εἰσέειν ἐσχατία) in the deme Potus (purchase price)	125	I.G. ii ² 1594
IVth c. (middle)	land in the deme Oenoe (χωρίον) (purchase price)	300	I.G. ii ² 1594
IVth c. (After middle)	border land in the deme Qdantidae (ἐσχατία) (purchase price)	162d.3ob.	I.G. ii ² 1597
IVth c. (After middle)	land in the deme Cothocidae (χωρίον) (purchase price)	100	I.G. ii ² 1597

SHELTER.

TABLE IV. (Land contd.)

100 - 500 drachmae (contd.)

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
46. IVth c. (After middle)	land in the deme Cothocidae ($\chi\omega\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$) (purchase price)	250	I.G. ii ² 1597
47. IVth c. (After middle)	land at Phalerum ($\chi\omega\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$) (purchase price)	440	I.G. ii ² 1598
48. IVth c. (2nd half)	land in Attica ($\chi\omega\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$) (sold with power of redemption)	150	I.G. ii ² 2704
49. IVth c. (2nd half)	land in Attica ($\chi\omega\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$) (sold with power of redemption)	100	I.G. ii ² 2710
50. IVth c. (2nd half)	land in Attica ($\chi\omega\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$) (sold with power of redemption)	100	I.G. ii ² 2720
51. IVth c. (2nd half)	land in Attica ($\chi\omega\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$) (purchase price)	420	I.G. ii ² 2763

Notes.

0. This land was confiscated and sold by the State after the mutilation of the Hermae and the profanation of the Mysteries (cf. Table I, item 32; Table II, item 16; Table III, item 1; Table IV, items 41 and 52).

Gargettus lay south of Pentelicon.

1. Cf. Table IV, note 40. This was a similar sale. The name of the deme in which this land was situated has, however, been obliterated.

2. The sale of these two properties to a single purchaser is listed in the records of the tax of a hundredth part of the purchase price on the sale of land (cf. Table III, items 2 and 3; Table IV, items 4, 5, 21, 26, 27, 35-7, 42-7, and 53-9).

Porus was probably a town deme (v. The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C. p. 60).

3. This sale is listed in the records of the tax of a hundredth part of the purchase price on the sale of land (cf. Table IV, note 42).

The deme of Oenoe was situated in the north-east of Attica, between Phidna and Marathon (cf. Table III, item 2; Table IV, item 39).

4. This sale is listed in the records of the tax of a hundredth part on the sale of land (cf. Table IV, note 42).

Cydantidae was an inland deme (v. The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C. p. 57). (Cf. Table IV, items 26 and 27.)

HELTER.

TABLE IV. (Land contd.)

Notes (contd.)

5. & 46. These sales are listed in the records of the tax of a hundredth part of the purchase price on the sale of land. (Cf. Table III, items 2 and 3; Table IV, items 4, 5, 21, 26, 27, 35-7, 42-4, 47, 53-9.)

The deme Cothocidae was in the Plain of Thria, north-east of Eleusis.

7. This sale is listed in the records of the tax of a hundredth part of the purchase price on the sale of land. (Cf. Table IV, items 45 and 46.)

For other prices relating to sales at Phalerum, cf. Table III, item 3, and Table IV, item 4.

8. Cf. Table I, note 9.

9. Cf. Table I, note 9.

The stone bearing this inscription was found at the foot of the acropolis, on its west side.

10. Cf. Table I, note 9.

This land was purchased by a brotherhood (θιασμοί).

11. The stone bearing this inscription was found in the modern village of Pikermi, between Athens and Marathon. It made public the purchase of property by the members of a club. The note in I.G. ii, reads: Hunc titulum non spectare ad πρῶτον ἐπὶ λυδοί, sed de fundo agi ab eranistis upto in quo ad rem palam faciendam terminus immittebatur. For other purchases by the members of an association, v. Table I, item 23; Table II items 4 and 9; and Table IV, item 33.

With the prices in this section of the table may be compared the sale, with power of redemption, of land in Lemnos for four hundred drachmae (v. I.G. xii.8.21), between 314/3 and 307/6 B.C., and the purchase, at the end of the fourth or at the beginning of the third century B.C., of a single property in Tenos, consisting of more than one piece of land, for four hundred drachmae; of another for one hundred and twenty drachmae; of another - described as "the enclosure called Limeneia" (ἡ ἀμφοδὴ ἡ κλουμένη Λιμενεΐα) - for four hundred; and of yet another, for four hundred and fifty drachmae.

Under 100 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
2. 414/3	land (χωρίον) in ? (purchase price)	10 ?	I.G. i ² 328
3. IVth c. (middle)	border land (ἐσχατιά) in the deme Aphidna (purchase price)	50	I.G. ii ² 1594
4. IVth c. (middle)	border land (ἐσχατιά) in the deme Aphidna (purchase price)	50	I.G. ii ² 1594
5. IVth c. (middle)	border land (ἐσχατιά) in the deme Aphidna (purchase price)	50	I.G. ii ² 1594

SHELTER.

TABLE IV. (Land contd.)

Under 100 drachmae (contd.)

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
56. IVth c. (middle)	border land (ἐσχατία) in the deme Aphidna (purchase price)	50	I.G. ii ² 1594
57. IVth c. (middle)	border land (two properties - ἐσχατία; ἐπίεα ἐσχατία) in the deme Aphidna (purchase price)	50	I.G. ii ² 1594
58. IVth c. (middle)	land (χωρίον) in the deme Pallene (purchase price)	50	I.G. ii ² 1596
59. IVth c. (After middle)	border land (ἐσχατία) in the deme Cephale (purchase price)	62d.3ob.	I.G. ii ² 1597

Notes.

52. This land was confiscated and sold by the State after the mutilation of the Hermae and the profanation of the Mysteries (cf. Table I, item 32; Table II, item 16; Table III, item 1; Table IV, items 40 and 41).

The name of the deme in which the land was situated has been obliterated.

The price is queried because the tax of a hundredth part, which is duly recorded, is put at three obols. A purchase^{price} of fifty drachmae - which the tax implies - is paralleled by other items in this section of the table.

53. - 57. For the explanation of 'border land', v. Table IV, note 35.

These prices appear in a record of the tax of a hundredth part of the price on the sale of the land. (Cf. Table III, items 2 and 3; Table IV, items 4, 5, 21, 26, 27, 35-7, 42-7, 58, 59.)

Aphidna was an inland deme east of Parnes (cf. Table IV, items 35 and 36).

58. This sale is listed in a record of the tax of a hundredth part of the price on the sale of land. (Cf. Table IV, note 53-7.)

Pallene was an inland deme north-east of the city boundary.

59. This sale is listed in a record of the tax of a hundredth part of the price on the sale of land. (cf. Table IV, note 53-7.)

Cephale was a coast deme in south-east Attica, in the region of the modern Keratea, on the way to Thoricus.

During the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., then, land was sold in tracts which varied in price from fifty drachmae (Table IV, items 53-59) to twenty-five thousand drachmae (Table IV, item 1). The following conspectus shows by how many items each of the recorded prices is/

HELTER.

TABLE IV. (Land contd.)

As supported. As before, the letters in brackets - (P.P.), (V.), (S.) - variously denote price paid, valuation, and worth as security. The addition of an asterisk to (P.P.) - (P.P.*) - indicates that the sale was made with power of redemption.

INSPECTUS OF PRICES LISTED IN TABLE IV.

5,000d.+	- Item 1 (P.P.)
4,000d.	- Item 5 (P.P.)
5,000d.	- Item 3 (P.P.)
2,000d.	- Item 2 (V.)
1,600d.	- Item 4 (P.P.)
7,500d.	- Item 7 (P.P.)
7,000d.	- Item 6 (P.P.)
6,000d.	- Items 8 (V.), 9 (S.), 10 (S.), 11 (S.), 12 (S.), 13 (P.P.*)
5,100d.	- Item 15 (S.)
5,000d.	- Item 14 (V.)
4,000d.	- Items 16 (V.), 17 (S.), 18 (P.P.*)
2,800d.	- Item 23 (P.P.*)
2,550d.	- Item 20 (P.P.*)
2,000d.+	- Item 21 (P.P.)
2,000d.	- Items 19 (P.P.), 22 (P.P.*), 24 (S.)
1,800d.	- Item 29 (S.)
1,500d.	- Item 28 (S.)
1,375d.	- Item 27 (P.P.)
1,200d.	- Item 33 (P.P.*)
1,050d.	- Item 30 (P.P.*)
1,000d.+	- Item 25 (V.)
1,000d.	- Items 26 (P.P.), 31 (P.P.*), 32 (P.P.)
900d.	- Item 38 (P.P.*)
800d.	- Item 37 (P.P.)
680d.	- Item 39 (P.P.)
500d.	- Items 34 (V.), 35 (P.P.), 36 (P.P.)
440d.	- Item 47 (P.P.)
420d.	- Item 51 (P.P.)
300d.	- Item 43 (P.P.)
250d.	- Item 46 (P.P.)
205d.	- Item 41 (P.P.)
162d.3ob.	- Item 44 (P.P.)
150d.	- Item 48 (P.P.*)
125d.	- Item 42 (P.P.)
105d.	- Item 40 (P.P.)
100d.	- Items 45 (P.P.), 49 (P.P.*), 50 (P.P.*)
62d.3ob.	- Item 59 (P.P.)
50d.	- Items 53 (P.P.), 54 (P.P.), 55 (P.P.), 56 (P.P.), 57 (P.P.), 58 (P.P.)
10d.?	- Item 52 (P.P.)

Classification of the evidence for rents in fifth and fourth century Africa is difficult, as the items are varied and instances often related. In so far as they serve, the groupings already used in tabulating the value of property (whether expressed in terms of purchase/

SHELTER.

purchase price, security, or valuation) have again been employed. Rents of houses come first; then follow rents of a house together with a workshop (or other building) or of land with a house. Next are given rents relating to land. The rents of two sanctuaries follow. A miscellaneous table contains single instances of the rent of a bank, a shield factory, and a theatre. Parallel instances of rents of houses and lands in Delos and Rhenea, occurring between 359/8 and 268/7 B.C., are set out in a separate table which illustrates variation in the rent of particular properties between these dates.

TABLE V. (Rents of Houses)

Over 600 drachmae
No evidence

600 - 600 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
1. IVth c. (end)	year's rent of a tenement house, let on a ten years' lease	600	I.G. ii ² 2500

500 - 500 drachmae

No evidence.

400 - 400 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
2. IVth c. (beginning)	year's rent of two houses - a town-house bought for 3,000d., and a house at Eleusis bought for 500d.	300	Isaeus XI.42 (De Hagniae Hereditate)

300 - 300 drachmae

No evidence.

200 - 200 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
1. 343/2	year's rent of a house let by the Temple Authorities of Athene Polias	175	I.G. ii ² 1590
2. 343/2	year's rent of another house let by the Temple Authorities of Athene Polias	169	I.G. ii ² 1590
3. 343/2	year's rent of another house let by the Temple Authorities of Athene Polias	130+	I.G. ii ² 1590

HELTER.

TABLE V. (Rents of houses contd.)

100 - 200 drachmae (contd.)

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
343/2	year's rent of another house let by the Temple Authorities of Athene Polias	126	I.G. ii ² 1590

Notes.

1. This tenement house "in the agora" (ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ) was rented by the Eleusinians from the Thriasians. The rent was payable in instalments. Following the payment of a hundred drachmae down, another hundred were to be paid in July (Hecatombaeon), while two hundred were to be paid in December (Posideon), and two hundred in April (Munychion).

2. These houses (v. Table I, items 6 and 25) produced a rent, therefore, at the rate of 8 2/3 per cent. At the same time land in Thria, belonging to the same man (v. Table IV, item 3), produced a rent at the rate of 8 per cent. Later, towards the end of the fourth century or early in the third century B.C., land and a house in Attica (v. Table II, item 5) produced a rent at the rate of 12 per cent. (v. also below, Table VI, note 1.)

3. - 6. As the property of Athene Polias, these were presumably town-houses. The figure represented as 130+ is incomplete; it appears in I.G. ii² 1590 thus: ΗΑΔΔΔ..

CONSPECTUS OF PRICES LISTED IN TABLE V.

300d.	- Item 1 (a tenement house "in the agora" - presumably the agora of the Thriasians)
300d.	- Item 2 (a town-house in Athens - bought for 3,000d. - together with a house at Eleusis - bought for 500d.; a rent, therefore, at the rate of 8 per cent.)
175d.	- Item 3 (presumably a town-house)
169d.	- Item 4 (presumably a town-house)
130d.+	- Item 5 (presumably a town-house)
126d.	- Item 6 (presumably a town-house)

TABLE VI. (Rents of a House with an Adjunct, or of Land with a House)

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
1. 300/29 - 291/0	year's rent of a house in Attica, let on a ten years' lease	600	I.G. ii ² 1241

400 - 600 drachmae

No evidence.

300 - 400 drachmae

No evidence.

200 - 300 drachmae

No evidence.

SHELTER.TABLE V. (Rents of a house with an Adjunct, or of Land with a House)
(contd.)100 - 200 drachmae
No evidence.

50 - 100 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
2. IVth c. (After middle)	year's rent of a workshop in Piraeus, the dwelling-house (ὀικία) adjoining it, and a little building at the refuse dump, let in perpetuity	54	I.G. ii ² 2496

Notes.

1. This property was situated in Myrrhinous, a coast deme in south-east Attica. The price required from the tenant, if at any time within the term of the lease he should wish to buy the property, was 5,000d. (Cf. Table II, item 5.) This suggests a well-to-do tenant. The rent in this instance represents a dividend of 12 per cent, as against one of 8 per cent accruing as rent from a farm in Thria at the opening of the fourth century B.C. (v. Isaeus XI.41 and 42. Cf. Table VII, item 1.)

2. This rent (payable in two instalments - thirty drachmae in July, twenty-four in December) is particularly interesting (at the rate of 8 per cent, it represents a capital of 675d.; at the rate of 12 per cent, a capital of 450d.), as the detail of the property and the terms of the lease suggest a working-class tenant of adequate means. A lower, but comparable figure of earlier date (the inscription belongs either to the end of the fifth or to the beginning of the fourth century B.C.) is that of the yearly rent required by the city of Poiessa from the tenant of land in Ceos, let together with a house, at 30d. (I.G. xii.5.586.)

CONSPECTUS OF PRICES LISTED IN TABLE VI.

300d. - Item 1 (land and a house in Attica)

84d. - Item 2 (workshop, dwelling-house, and small building in Peiraeus)

TABLE VII. (Rents of Land)

Over 1,000 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
1. IVth c. (beg.)	year's rent of land (ἀγρός) - worth 15,000d. - in Thria	1,200	Isaeus XI.41 and 42

100 - 10,000 drachmae

No evidence.

SHELTER.

TABLE VII. (Rents of Land contd.)

Notes (contd.)

bidder, the rent to be reduced by half of the interest (calculated at 12 per cent, cf. Table VI, note 1) on the sum so obtained. During the last five years of the lease a vine-dresser was to be sent on to the land by the deme.

A figure for rent of land outwith Attica is given in an inscription from Eretria which records 30 talents as 10 years' rent (payable in yearly instalments) of drained marshland for the years 318/7 - 309/8 B.C.

CONSPECTUS OF PRICES LISTED IN TABLE VII.

1,200d.	-	Item 1 (land in Thria)
450d.	-	Item 2 (gardens on the Ilissus)
152d.	-	Item 4 (land let by the deme Aixone)
134d. 2½ob.	-	Item 3 (lands let by the deme Plotheis)

TABLE VIII. (Sanctuaries)

200 - 300 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
1. 306/5	yearly rent of the sanctuary (ἱερόν) of Eugreates, let on a ten years' lease	200	I.G. ii ² 2499

100 - 200 drachmae

No evidence.

Under 100 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
2. IVth c. (end)	yearly rent of the sanctuary of Hypodectes, let in perpetuity	50	I.G. ii ² 2501

Notes.

1. The sanctuary of Eugreates, the precinct and the buildings erected in it, were leased to a tenant called Diognetus, who was charged with the upkeep of the buildings and the care of the trees. Diognetus presumably farmed the land and lived on the premises, as one of his duties was to have the house, shed and oven and the couches and tables for two dining-rooms ready for the Orgeones when they came to make their annual sacrifice to Hera. The rent was to be paid in two instalments of 100d., one in September and the other in March.

2. The sanctuary of Hypodectes was leased to Diopeithes and his descendants in perpetuity. The rent was to be paid in September. Cf. Table VIII, note 1, for caretaking duties. At the appointed times Diopeithes had to have the sanctuary open and ready, and the image of the goddess treated with oil and stripped of its coverings.

An inscription of 321/0 B.C. (I.G. ii² 2498) regarding the conditions of the leasing of land (including sacred precincts), for a term of ten/

ALTER.

TABLE VIII. (Rents of Sanctuaries contd.)

tes (contd.)

in years, by the deme Peiraeus, distinguishes between farmers whose rent exceeds ten drachmae and farmers whose rent falls short of that sum. Efficient security had to be given by those whose rent exceeded ten drachmae; the produce of those whose rent fell short of that sum was their pledge. This suggests that ten drachmae was the average rental of the small tenant-farmer. Some of the land thus leased was used for grazing, some for cultivation.

INSPECTUS OF PRICES LISTED IN TABLE VIII.

000. - Item 1

000. - Item 2

TABLE IX. (Miscellaneous Rents)

000 - 10,000 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
371/0	yearly rent of the	10,000	Demosthenes XXXVI.2;37;51.
- 364/3	bank that had been		(Pro Phormione)
and	Pasion's		
362/1			Demosthenes XLV.32
- 353/2			(In Stephanum I)

000 - 9,000 drachmae

evidence

000 - 8,000 drachmae

evidence.

000 - 7,000 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
371/0	yearly rent of the	6,000	Demosthenes XXXVI.2;37;51.
- 364/3	shield factory that		(Pro Phormione)
and	had been Pasion's		Demosthenes XLV.32
362/1			(In Stephanum I)
- 353/2			

000 - 6,000 drachmae

evidence.

000 - 5,000 drachmae

evidence.

000 - 4,000 drachmae

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
c.360	year's rent of the	3,300	I.G. ii ² 1176
	theatre in the deme		
	Peiraeus		

HELTER.

TABLE IX. (Miscellaneous Rents contd.)

otes.

& 2. For date and details, v. Paley and Sandys.

The lessees, four in number, whose income was the entrance money, were charged with the upkeep of the building.

INSPECTUS OF PRICES LISTED IN TABLE IX.

- 5,000d. - Item 1 (a bank)
- 5,000d. - Item 2 (a factory)
- 5,300d. - Item 3 (a theatre)

Of interest, as showing variations in rent over a period of years, are the records of leases of the temple property in Delos and Rhenea. It is to be remembered, of course, that as these properties were normally let on a ten years' lease figures are necessarily steady in consecutive years of a given lease.* The following table gives a survey of the relevant evidence. The items are listed in order of costliness on the initial showing of I.G. xi.2.135, for a date falling between 314 and 302 B.C., though in some cases figures for 359/8 B.C. (I.G. ii² 1638) or for the middle of the fourth century B.C. (I.G. ii² 1641) are also given. The situation and nature of the various properties is discussed by Homolle (B.C.H. XIV., 1890 pp. 424-430), who quotes the detailed descriptions given in the Accounts for 250 B.C. (I.G. xi.2.). The notes which follow the table are based on his findings. **

Houses and lands belonging to the Temple were leased at an annual rent, for a period of ten years, to the highest bidder (B.C.H. XIV., 1890, p. 430). In the third century a tenant might, if he wished, renew his lease on its expiry without again competing in an auction; the condition of renewal was increase of his rent by a tenth. (B.C.H. XIV., 1890, p. 422, and p. 431.)

Inscriptions quoted in the table are:

- 359/8 - I.G. ii² 1638
- middle c. (middle) - I.G. ii² 1641
- between 314 and 302 - I.G. xi.2.135; xi.2.143B
- shortly before 301 - I.G. xi.2.144A
- I.G. xi.2.146A
- I.G. xi.2.149
- shortly before 282 - I.G. xi.2.158A
- I.G. xi.2.161A
- I.G. xi.2.162A
- I.G. xi.2.199A
- 274 - I.G. xi.2.200
- I.G. xi.2.203A
- I.G. xi.2.204

SHELTER.

RENTS OF TEMPLE PROPERTY IN DELOS AND RHENEA.

	359/8 (mid.)	IVthC.	Between 314&302	Between 314&302	Shortly before 301	301
1. Charetia in Rhenea	700d.	-	1,750d.	2,250d.	2,475d.	-
2. Porthmus in Rhenea	500d.	-	1,200d.	-	1,251d.+	-
3. Charonia in Rhenea	-	-	1,050d.	-	1,055d.+	-
4. Pyrgi in Rhenea	-	-	890d.	-	1,298d.	1,650d.
5. Phoinices in Delos	-	-	810d.	-	1,100d.	1,101d. 3ob.
6. Rhamni in Rhenea	-	-	800d.	-	1,330d.+	-
7. Limo in Delos	-	-	781d.	600d.	600d.	650d.
8. Limnae in Rhenea	300d.	-	770d.	600d.	651d.	-
9. Panormus in Rhenea	300d.	-	750d.	-	925d.	-
10. Dionysium in Rhenea	300d.	-	750d.	-	-	1,000d.
11. Hippodromus and Aphasis in Delos	-	-	720d.	920d.	1,200d.	-
12. Scitonia in Rhenea	300d.	250d.	506d.	-	774d. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ob.	-
13. Nicouchorus in Rhenea	-	-	440d.	420d.+	551d. $\frac{1}{2}$ ob.	-
14. Soloe in Delos	-	50d.+	240d.	330d.	-	-
15. Coraciae in Delos	-	-	-	-	-	-
16. Soloe and Coraciae	-	-	-	-	-	-
16. Lyconium in Delos	50d.	-	120d.	-	254d.	101d.+
17. Episthenia in Delos	-	-	-	-	-	-
18. Sosimachia in Delos	-	-	-	-	-	-
19. Acra Delos	-	-	-	-	-	-
20. Ceramium in Delos	-	-	-	-	-	-
21. Phytalia in Delos	135d.	-	-	-	-	-

282	Shortly before 282	282	279	278	274	c.274
111d.	-	1,800d.	1,800d.	1,800d.	-	1,800d.
612d.	-	1,200d.	1,320d.	1,320d.	1,320d.	-
450d.	-	800d.	800d.	800d.	800d.	-
650d.	-	1,110d.	1,222d. 2ob.	1,221d.	1,221d.	-
101d.	-	720d.	710d.	710d.	710d.	-
715d.	-	375d.	429d.	429d.	429d.	-
561d.	300d.	300d.	330d.	330d.	330d.	330d.
612d.	-	361d.	397d. 1/2ob.	428d.	397d. 1/2ob.	-
030d.	-	660d.	704d.	704d.	704d.	-
372d.	-	602d.	621d.	621d.	622d.2ob.	622d.2ob.
001d.	-	550d.	605d.	605d.	605d.	-
900d.	-	560d.	530d.	530d.	-	-
600d.	-	348d.	271d.	271d.	271d.	-
821d.	200d.	200d.	-	-	-	-
-	100d.	100d.	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	410d.	410d.	410d.	-
220d.	80d.	80d.	150d.	150d.	-	-
-	500d.	500d.	590d.	590d.	590d.	-
-	201d.	201d.	340d.	340d.	-	-
-	-	300d.	501d.	501d.	501d.	501d.
-	-	120d.	140d.	140d.	140d.	140d.
-	-	60d.	60d.	60d.	60d.	-

Between 278&270	269	268
1,800d.	1,800d.	1,800d.
-	1,452d.	1,452d.
-	1,100d.	1,100d.
-	1,343d. 1/2ob. 1ch.	1,343d. 1/2ob. 1ch.
-	723d.	723d.
-	471d. 2 1/4ob.	472d. 4 1/4ob. 1ch.
-	330d. 2ob.	330d. 2ob.
-	573d.	573d.
-	830d.	830d.
-	600d.+	600d.+
605d.	732d. 1/4ob. 1ch.	732d. 1/4ob. 1ch.
-	560d.	560d.
-	300d.	-
-	-	-
-	-	-
-	372d.	372d.
-	100d.+	100d.+
-	612d.	612d.
-	150d.	150d.
-	512d. 2ob.	512d.
140d.	166d.	166d.
-	72d.	72d.

HELTER.

RENTS OF TEMPLE PROPERTY IN DELOS AND RHENEA (contd.)

NOTES.

Homolle remarks that the names of the various properties belonging to the Temple Authorities in Delos and Rhenea derive either from the name of the former owner, from the situation of the land, or from the nature of the ground and its products.* 'Επισθενεία, χαρητεία, χαρωνεία, σκιτωνεία, Λυκώγειον, Νικούχως and Σωσιμαχεία he puts in the first category; ἐν Διονυσίῳ, Ἴπποδεόμῳ, Ἀκκα Δήλῳ, Πανδέμῳ, Πορθῳ, Λίμνῳ and Πύργοις in the second;** and Φοίνικες, Ράμνοι, Φυταλία, Λείμων and Κεραμείον in the third. Σολὴ and Κορακία he considers uncertain (B.C.H. XIV., 1890, p. 423).

1. Charetia: Homolle has no note on this property other than a quotation of its detailed description in the accounts of 250 B.C. (B.C.H. XIV., 1890, p. 426), but his assumption that the clerks responsible for the accounts of 279 B.C. listed the properties in "un ordre logique et conforme à la topographie, en allant du nord au sud" (p. 425) - an assumption which the relative locations of the readily identifiable sites seems to justify - suggests a situation north or west of Charonia, which he puts (p. 425) close to the ancient burial ground opposite the island of Rheumatiari. (Though he prefers to derive the name of that property from that of a former owner, Charon, he remarks that reference is sometimes made to οἱ γῆ ἢ ἐν Χαρωνείᾳ "et une telle localité ne surprend pas dans une île qui était pour les Déliens comme la porte du séjour infernal.") In the accounts of 279 B.C. the properties are listed in the following order: Porthmus, Pyrgi, Limnae, Rhamni, Dionysium, Nicouchorus, Enormus, Scitonia, Charetia and Charonia. The specification of Charetia mentions a main entrance, an out-house furnished with a door, two rooms furnished with doors - in one a main beam supported by pillars - a byre supported by pillars without a door, a ? without a door, two upper rooms furnished with doors, a dining-room (ἀνδρώνιον) with an inner room (θάλαμον) without a door, another dining-room, a kitchen without a door, a mill-house without a door, a sheep-fold supported by pillars, ? vines and 72 fig-trees.

Its rent (towards the end of the fourth century B.C. 1,750d., two and half times what it had been in 359/8 B.C., and steadily rising) shows an increase of a tenth from 2,250d. for a second year between 314 and 302 B.C. 2,475d. for a year shortly before 301 B.C. The top figure, 3,111d., recurs in 297 B.C. In 282 B.C. the figure 1,800d. approximates to the figure for the earlier of the two years between 314 and 302 B.C., 1,750d., and recurs not only at such other dates as might fall within a ten years

Chacun des domaines a son nom particulier: c'est tantôt un adjectif patronymique, dérivé du nom de l'ancien propriétaire, tantôt une expression géographique, indiquant le lieu où le terre est située, et composée d'un nom de la localité précédé de ἐν ou de ἐπὶ, tantôt enfin un terme qui fait connaître la nature du terrain ou les productions du sol. (B.C.H. XIV., 1890, pp. 424-5.)

Les noms de localité sont quelquefois employés au nominatif, sans préposition, pour désigner la propriété elle-même; la préposition au nominatif précède quelquefois des adjectifs patronymiques γῆ ἢ ἐν Χαρωνείᾳ, κωμείῳ. (B.C.H. XIV., 1890, p. 423.)

SHELTER.

RENTS OF TEMPLE PROPERTY IN DELOS AND RHENEA (contd.)

Notes (contd.)

years' lease beginning in 282 B.C., but also for the later years 269 and 268 B.C.

Porthmus: This property obviously owes its name (the Ferry), as Homolle observes, to its situation on an arm of the sea, at a point where crossing was regularly made, whether from Rhenea to Delos (that is on the east coast of Rhenea), or from one part of Rhenea to another. (B.C.H. IV., 1890, p. 424.) It may have been the most northerly of the properties (v. Charetia, above).

The highest figure for this property - the rent of which for the earlier year between 314 and 302 B.C. (1,200d.) is almost two and a half times as great as it had been in 359/8 B.C. (500d.) - again occurs in 297 B.C. (1,612d.). In 282 B.C. there is a reversion to the earlier figure (1,200d.). Successive leases, in 279 and 269 B.C., show rents increased by a tenth (1,320d. and 1,452d.).

Charonia: The accounts for 250 B.C. show that on this property (close to the ancient burial-ground opposite Rheumatiari, v. Charetia, above) many of the buildings were duplicated, and Homolle calls attention to the fact that it was sometimes let as two separate lots. (B.C.H. XIV., 1890, p. 427.) The specification mentions an out-house with a door, two rooms, one of which had a door, a sheep-fold without a door, a roofless building, a tower with a door, a main entrance, another house with a main entrance, an out-house with a door, a room with a door, another room, a dining-room with a door, a kitchen, the main beam of which was supported by pillars, a byre without a door, a barn without a door, a sheep-fold without a door, fig-trees and 2,187 vines.

The first figure for this property (1,050d.) is for the earlier year between 314 and 302 B.C. Again the top figure (1,450d.) belongs to the year 297 B.C. In 282 B.C. and subsequent years the figure dropped to 1,00d., but in 269 B.C. 1,100d. were paid, showing an increase of 50d. on the first figure (1,050d.), which is exactly paralleled by the figures for Charetia (1,750d. between 314 and 302 B.C.; 1,800d. in 269 B.C.).

Pyrgi: Homolle makes the natural suggestion that this property was situated in the neighbourhood of a little harbour of like name (Pyrgos), north of the lazaret opposite Delos, still (when he wrote) one of the cultivated parts of the island, where vines and fig-trees grew. (The island of Rhenea is today uninhabited.) A main entrance is specified, an out-house with a door, two rooms with doors, a barn without a door, a byre without a door, two dining-rooms with doors, an upper-room with a door, a kitchen without a door, a sheep-fold without a door, 2,250 vines, fig-trees and 2 wild fig-trees.

The rent of this property (890d. for the earlier year between 314 and 302 B.C.) twice shows increase by a tenth. In 282 B.C. the figure is 1,110d., in 278 B.C. 1,221d., and in 269 B.C. 1,343d. $\frac{1}{2}$ ob. 1 ch. (In 279 B.C. the figure is 1,222d. $\frac{1}{2}$ ob.)

Phoinices: Remarking that Delos possessed several palm-trees famous throughout the Greek world and revered for their great age, Homolle suggests that this property was situated in their neighbourhood, close to the lake with which the myth associated the birth of the gods. In a great many of the islands, he admits, the name Phoinix is a relic of Phoenician settlements, and in Delos itself (which had purple fisheries) there are/

ALTER.

RENTS OF TEMPLE PROPERTY IN DELOS AND RHENEA (contd.)

Notes (contd.)

the columns of Carian and Phoenician origin. He prefers the first theory, however, (in spite of there being no mention of any palm-tree in the specification of the property) and finds support for it in the fact that rent and description alike show Phoinices to have been one of the best properties in Delos, for such a derivation suggests a situation in the plain, the fertile part of the island. This property had two main entrances, an out-house with a door, a room without a door, a byre without a door, a double sheep-fold without a door, a barn without a door, an upper storey with a door with a room without a door, a kitchen without a door, 46 vines, 40 fig-trees and 5 wild fig-trees.

For the earlier of the two years between 314 and 302 B.C. the rent of Phoinices (the Palms) was 820d. For a year shortly before 301 B.C., for 301 B.C. and 297 B.C. the appreciably increased figures 1,101d., 1,101d. and 1,101d. are given. Thereafter comes a sharp drop; for 282 B.C. the figure is 720d.; for 279, 278 and 274 B.C., 710d.; and for 269 and 268 B.C., 723d.

Rhamni: Rhamni (the Thorns) Homolle considers descriptive of the terrain. The assumption that in the accounts of 250 B.C. the properties are listed from north to south (v. Charetia, above) makes this the most northerly of three properties lying between Limnae (which Homolle puts south-west of Pyrgi, in moist, low-lying lands on the shore of the great bay of Rhenea (B.C.H. XIV., 1890 p.424) and Panormus, the eastern headstead (p. 425)). A main entrance, a sheep-fold without a door, a small tower with a door, a dining-room with a door, an out-house with a byre without a door, rooms without doors, 1,978 vines, 91 fig-trees and a pomegranate tree are mentioned in the specification.

Let at a rent of 800d. for the earlier year between 314 and 302 B.C., it appears to have been re-let shortly before 301 B.C. for 1,330d.+ (the figure is incomplete). By 297 B.C. (the peak year for the properties already mentioned) the rent of Rhamni had dropped to 715d.; by 282 B.C. it was only 375d. The figure for 279 B.C. is 429d., and 269 B.C. shows an increase by a tenth to 471d. 2ob.

Limo: Homolle finds it hard to identify the site of 'the Meadow', but considers that the approaches to the harbour of Phourni (on the west coast of Delos) best merit a name which implies a moist and grassy tract. Limo contained an out-house with a door, a byre with a door, a barn without a door, a sheep-fold without a door, another building with a door and a main entrance.

The highest figure is that for the earlier year between 314 and 302 B.C., 781d. The figure for the second year between 314 and 302 B.C., which recurs shortly before 301 B.C., is 600d. In 301 B.C. the figure is 450d., and in 297 B.C., 661d. Thereafter, shortly before 282 B.C., the rent is more than halved (300d.). This figure, 300d., recurs in 282 B.C., but is increased by a tenth in 279 B.C. (330d.). This figure in turn, 330d., recurs in 278, 274, c.274 B.C., and is augmented by 2ob. in 269 and 268 B.C. (330d. 2ob.).

Limnae: For the situation of this property (the Marshes), v. Rhamni, above. In the specification there is mention of two main entrances, an out-house with a door, a room with a door, another without a door, a barn without a door, a mill-house without a door, a byre with a door, an upper room with a door, a dining-room without a door, 1,514 vines, 27 fig-trees and 3 wild fig-trees.

HELTER.RENTS OF TEMPLE PROPERTY IN DELOS AND RHENEA (contd.)
Notes (contd.)

Here again (cf. Limo, above) the highest figure, 770d., occurs in the accounts for the earlier year between 314 and 302 B.C., and for the second year between these dates this rent, too, is 600d. Shortly before 301 B.C. the figure rises to 651d. In 297 B.C. the figure is 621d. There is a drop in 282 B.C. to 361d., but this figure is increased in 279 B.C. by a tenth (397d. $\frac{1}{2}$ ob.); the same figure is found for 274 B.C. In 278 B.C. the higher figure of 428d. occurs, and for 269 and 268 B.C. the figure is 573d.

Panormus: For the situation of this property, v. Rharni, above. It had a main entrance, an outhouse with a door, a room with a door, a barn without a door, a byre without a door, a kitchen without a door, a cellar with a door, an upper room, a sheep-fold without a door, a dining-room with a door, 1,298 vines, 29 fig-trees and a wild fig-tree.

Its rent, for the earlier year between 314 and 302 B.C., rose steadily - it was 925d. shortly before 301 B.C. - to 1,030d. in 297 B.C. By 282 B.C. it had dropped to 600d. The figure for 279, 278 and 274 B.C. is 704d. By 269 B.C. it had risen again to 830d., the figure also for 268 B.C.

Dionysium: Homolle feels sure that this property owes its name to a sanctuary of Dionysius, but remarks that he knows of none found in Rhenea. The assumption (noticed above, under "Charetia") puts this property to the south of Rharni. A sanctuary with a little temple has been discovered at the village of Heracleon. In the specification of Dionysium a main entrance, an outhouse with a door, a room with a door, a barn without a door, a mill-house with a door, a kitchen without a door, an upper room with a door, a dining-room without a door, a sheep-fold without a door, a dining-room without a door, 1,601 vines and 36 fig-trees are mentioned. Here again the rent (750d. for the earlier year between 314 and 302 B.C.) rose steadily - it was 1,000d. in 301 B.C. - to 1,372d. in 297 B.C., and dropped to 602d. in 282 B.C. For 279 and 278 B.C. the figure is 621d.; for 274 and c. 274 B.C. it is 622d. $\frac{2}{3}$ ob.; for 269 and 268 B.C. the figure (600d.+) is incomplete.

Hippodromus and Aphasis: Horse-racing was a feature of the Delian games. In the interval between these celebrations the racecourse was evidently let as pasture-land. Its site must have been in the Plain. The specification, as one would expect, makes no reference to tillage; farm-buildings only are mentioned; an outhouse with a door, a room without a door, a byre without a door, a sheep-fold without a door, a kitchen without a door, and a main entrance. Its rent (720d. for the earlier year between 314 and 302 B.C., 920d. - re-let - for the later) rose to 1,200d. shortly before 301 B.C., dropped to 1,001d. in 297 B.C., and to 550d. shortly before 282 B.C., but rose again to 605d. (the increase of a tenth) in 279 B.C., a figure which occurs in 278 and 274 B.C. and at some other point between 278 and 270 B.C. The figure, 732d. $\frac{1}{2}$ ob. $\frac{1}{2}$ ch., for 269 and 268 B.C. again shows increase of a tenth.

Skitionia: For its situation, v. Charetia, above. The specification mentions an outhouse with a door, two rooms without doors - their north walls fallen - a byre without a door, an upper storey with a door, other three buildings without doors, a main entrance and 719 vines.

Save for a reflection of the rising prices already noticed shortly before 301 B.C. (774d. $\frac{2}{3}$ ob.) and in 297 B.C. (900d.), the figures for Skitionia remain fairly steady - 506d. for the earlier year between 314 and 302 B.C., 506d. in 282 B.C., 530d. in 279 B.C. and 278 B.C., and/

ALTER.

RENTS OF TEMPLE PROPERTY IN DELOS AND RHENEA (contd.)

Notes (contd.)

and 560d. in 269 and 268 B.C.

Nicouchorus: For its situation, v. Charetia, above. Homolle thinks that in this designation we may have Nicias' name in altered form. Plutarch, he recalls, records the purchase of a property by Nicias for dedication to Apollo, its revenue to be appropriated to the provision of sacrifices. He counsels caution, however, in view of the alteration in the form of the name and the discrepancy between the rent for 279 B.C. (271d.) and the purchase price (10,000d.). If the highest figure for rent (600d. in 297 B.C.) is considered, it represents a dividend of 6 per cent in contrast to dividends of 8 per cent and 12 per cent noticed above Table VII., item 1; Table VI, item 1), but Plutarch's figure is not necessarily reliable. The property had a main entrance, an outhouse with a door, a room without a door, a mill-house without a door, a barn without a door, a byre without a door, a dining-room without a door, an upper room, a sheep-fold without a door, a kitchen without a door, 700 vines and 15 fig-trees.

Its rent, 440d. for the earlier year between 314 and 302 B.C., and possibly for the second year between 314 and 302 B.C. (the figure represented as 420d.+ is incomplete), had risen to 551d. shortly before 301 B.C., and was 600d. in 297 B.C. For 282 B.C. the figure is 48d., for 279, 278, and 274 B.C., 271d., and for 269 B.C., 300d.

15. Soloe and Coraciae: Homolle, in consideration of the probable significance of these names (Soloe, a height; Coraciae, a haunt of crows), argues that these were upland properties, and finds support for his theory in that the specification suggests pasture-land. There are mentioned an outhouse with a door, two rooms without doors, a byre without a door, a sheep-fold without a door, an upper room without a door, and a room with a door. Soloe appears alone in the accounts for both years between 314 and 302 B.C., and for 297 B.C. Shortly before 282 B.C. Coraciae appears, but the properties are let as separate lots in these accounts, and again in the accounts for 282 B.C. In 279 B.C. and thereafter, they are let together. Their joint rent in 279, in 278 and in 274 B.C. is 410d.; in 269 and 268 B.C., 372d.

Lyconium: This property, Homolle says, owed its name to a former owner or donor. No description of it is given. For the earlier year between 314 and 302 B.C. its rent was 120d. Shortly before 301 B.C. it had risen to 254d. The figure for 301 B.C. is incomplete. In 297 B.C. its rent was 220d. It suffered a sharp decline shortly before 282 B.C. to 100d., a figure found again in 282 B.C. In 279 B.C. and 278 B.C. it was 100d. The figure for 269 B.C. (represented as 100d.+) is incomplete.

Episthenia: No description of this property is given. It was confiscated from Episthenes in 375 B.C., along with two houses. Its rent rose steadily between 282 B.C. and 269 B.C. The figure for 282 B.C. (and for a year shortly before 282 B.C.) is 500d.; for 279, 278 and 274 B.C. it is 612d.

Sosimachia: For the origin of the name, v. Lyconium, above. No description of this property is given. After a substantial increase, from 201d. (in 282 B.C. and shortly before) to 340d. (in 279 and 278 B.C.) its rent declined to 150d. (in 269 and 268 B.C.).

SHELTER.RENTS OF TEMPLE PROPERTY IN DELOS AND RHENEA (contd.)

Notes (contd.)

19. Acra Delos: In the absence of a detailed description, Homolle hesitates to identify the site of this property, as the heights from north to south are numerous. His suggestion is, however, that the southern tip of the island is the most likely situation for a farm, as it is clear of building.

After a considerable increase, from 300d. in 282 B.C. to 501 d. in 279 B.C. (a figure which recurs in 278, 274 and c.274 B.C.), the rent of Acra Delos remains fairly steady. The figure for 269 B.C. is 512d. 2ob., for 268 B.C. 512d.

20. Ceramium: The presence of clay and the working of it explain "the Pottery". Euphantus owned potteries in the Plain (which lay between Mount Cynthus and the hills to the north). These were confiscated in 375 B.C., because of a sacrilegious attack on the Amphictyons, and were subsequently leased by the Temple Authorities. The specification mentions a main entrance, an outhouse with a door, having a room with a door, a ladder, an upper room with a door, a mill-house with a door, a dining-room with a door in the garden, a kitchen without a door in the garden, a dining-room without a door, 4 fig-trees and a pomegranate tree. Homolle remarks "cet état de lieux, s'il n'indique pas que l'industrie potier fut toujours pratiquée, montre du moins que ce domaine n'est pas, comme les autres, affecté à la culture ou au pâturage; point du renier, point d'étable, ni de plantation, rien qu'un petit jardin avec quatre figuiers et un grenadier."

The rent increased from 120d. (282 B.C.) to 140d. (279, 278, 274 and 274 B.C., and between 278 and 270 B.C.), and again to 166d. (269 and 268 B.C.).

21. Phytalia: No description of "the Plantation" is given. On appelle ainsi, says Homolle, un lieu planté, verger ou vignoble, par opposition aux terres de labour (Iliad VI, 195; XIII, 314) mais le fermage est un peu élevé pour une plantation, à moins qu'elle ne fût très peu rendue. 66d. is the figure for 282, for 279, for 278 and for 274 B.C. In the accounts for 269 and 268 B.C. the entry is 72d. That the figure for 269 B.C. (135d.) is higher is worthy of remark; all the other properties are more highly rated in later years than they were in 359/.

Following on the confiscations of 376/5 B.C. rents of houses appear as separate entries in the accounts. (Si avant 376/5, Homolle writes, le temple possédait et donnait à bail des propriétés bâties,* du moins les revenus qu'il en tirait étaient-ils insignifiants, et de là vient qu'on n'avait pas jugé nécessaire de les inscrire à part, ils se confondaient avec les fermages (p. 434). Ordinarily, confiscated property was sold, but property so passing to the Temple Authorities in Delos was evidently sold immediately, and some not at all. Some of the houses were used as private dwellings, others were let as apartments. Business premises are also distinguished. The "Charetian" and "Sosilian" houses were let as apartments. Specific apartments are also listed without mention of the particular house of which they were part. As this makes/

He has just suggested that the temple jusque là n'avait pas de maisons n'en tirait pas de loyers, que les οἰκίαι désignées dans les comptes 434 ne formaient que des dépendances des domaines et ne différaient des bâtiments d'exploitation décrits avec eux dans les états de ceux (p. 433).

SHELTER.

RENTS OF PRIVATE DWELLINGS AND OF BUSINESS PREMISES IN DELOS.

makes identification from year to year difficult, it may be noted simply that apartments varied in rent for a given year (279 B.C.) from 17d. to 136d. - the latter figure appears to have been raised to 144d. by 269 B.C. - and that instances of 20d., 25d., 30d., 31d., 42d., 50d., 60d., 61d., 63d., 65d., 70d., 80d., 91d., and 95d. occur over the years. The following table sets out rents of private dwellings and business premises.

1. A tavern:

Shortly before 282	279	278	274	269	268
120d.	-	-	-	-	-

2. The house by the quay:

- 90d.	-	-	-	-	-
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3. The buildings in which Ephesus carries on a retail trade:

- 55d.	51d.	51d.	-	147d.	70d.
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4. The house of Episthenes:

- 54d.	51d.	51d.	-	90d.	60d.
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5. The houses by the iron work :

-	-	42d.	40d.	40d.	-	-
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6. The house that belonged to Orthocles:

- ?	40d. 1ob.	41d.	45d. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ ob.	50d.	50d.
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7. The house that belonged to the children of Pythagoras:

- 40d.	25d.	-	-	20d.	20d.
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8. Menippus' house:

-	-	40d.	-	-	-
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9. The house in which Antigonos lives:

- 30d.	60d.	60d.	-	-	-
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10. The house that belonged to Theocides:

- 30d.	-	-	-	-	-
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11. Another house of Episthenes:

- 25d.	60d.	60d.	-	-	-
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12. Acreon's house:

- 25d.	25d.	25d.	-	-	-
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13. The house that belonged to the children of Aristoboulos:

22d. 3ob.	22d. 3ob.	39d. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ob.	39d. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ob.	39d. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ob.	79d. $\frac{1}{2}$ ob.	79d. $\frac{1}{2}$ ob.
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14. Episthenes' house at Colonus:

- 10d.	-	-	-	-	-
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SHELTER.

For purposes of comparison, reference may be made also to an inscription belonging to the beginning of the third century B.C. which records the accounts of the Temple of Apollo at Carthaea, on the south-east coast of the island of Ceos, fourteen miles from Laurium and forty from Piraeus (I.G. xii.5.544). Payment of the year's rent by forty-nine tenants is recorded. The following is a conspectus of these, beginning with the highest figure and ending with the lowest. The numbers within brackets show how often each figure occurs:

450d.	(1)
400d.	(2)
321d.	(1)
300d.	(3)
150d.	(1)
125d.	(1)
100d.	(1)
85d.	(1)
70d.	(1)
60d.	(2)
55d.	(3)
53d.	(1)
52d.	(1)
51d.	(1)
50d.	(3)
45d.	(1)
35d.	(2)
30d.	(1)
26d.	(1)
25d.	(2)
20d.	(5)
15d.	(7)
10d.	(4)
7d.	(1)
5d.	(2)

note on this inscription remarks that only in three instances is the rent below 10d. (but not below 5d.); that the average payment (rather over than that at Delos, but paralleled by figures from Delphi) ranges from 20-50d.; and that 450d. is the highest figure. A single tenant, however, rented three properties at 150d., 400d., and 200d. respectively.

CLOTHES.

For clothes, the third necessity, the evidence is scanty. Literary references to the cost of clothing are few, and the epigraphical evidence though authoritative - is drawn mainly from two inscriptions belonging to the years 329/8 and 237/6 B.C.

The dress of the Athenians of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. consisted of tunic (χιτών) and cloak (ἱμάτιον) for men, of tunic (χιτών) and cloak (πέπλος) for women. Workmen wore a single sleeveless garment (ἐξωμῖς) of coarse Megarian stuff. In cold weather a goatskin jerkin gave additional protection. There were two varieties of hat, the πέταρος, a broad-brimmed felt hat worn when travelling, and the πῖλος, a round felt cap worn by workmen. Ordinarily a corner of the ἱμάτιον or πέπλος drawn over the head served as covering. Out of doors the sandal (δανδαλίον or ὑπόδημα) - a sole fastened to the foot by thongs of leather passing between the toes - was worn, or, for hard walking, shoes (ἐνδρομίδες). A kind of felt shoe - the ἐμβύς - was worn by the poorer classes and by country people.* For many of these articles I have failed to find any recorded price. On the other hand, references to such variants of the ἱμάτιον as the χλαῖνα, a thicker and warmer garment,** and the τείρων a coarse cloak, such as was worn by the Spartans, occur. In an interesting note on the second mime of Herodas (lines 21-3) Knox writes "the τείρων thin - properly threadbare - cloak was the emblem of poverty (Menander 3) natural or adopted, as opposed to the χλαῖνα or χλαῖνις (Aristophanes esp. 1131)." The earlier part of this note is also relevant: "Shoes indicated luxury and the opposite as much as dress (Xen. Mem. 1.2.5) and the two are commonly mentioned together e.g. Lysias XXXII.23 ἐν τειρωνίοις, ὑποδήτους; Isaeus 51.32 ὀνειδίζει καὶ ἐγκάλει αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐμβύδας καὶ τειρώνια ἔχει (being poor); Dem. 1267.26 Λακωνίσεις φασὶ καὶ τειρώνας ἔχουσι καὶ ἱμάς ὑποδεδέναι."

This brief review of Athenian dress suggests that the evidence in this section of the inquiry may be suitably grouped under the following heads: Cloaks: etc.: Hats: Shoes. Jewellery follows; then come a few pieces relating to clothing in general.

Cloaks.

For tunics there is a disappointing lack of evidence. I have discovered no instance of a price paid for a χιτών. Such evidence as there is relates solely to the workman's sleeveless tunic, the ἐξωμῖς.

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
Vth c. (2nd half)	workman's tunic	10d.	Plutarch, Moralia 30. (De Tranquillitate Animi 470F)

327/6	workman's tunic	7d.3½ob.	I.G. ii² 1673 45-46
327/6	workman's tunic	7d.1ob.	I.G. ii² 1673 46
327/6	workman's tunic	7d.4ob.	I.G. ii² 1673 46

This brief review of Athenian dress is based on "Clothing and Toilet" The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature.

Hesychius: χλαῖνα : ἱμάτιον χειμέρινον.

CLOTHESMetrics (contd.)

Notes.

For context and date, v. Barley Meal 2 and Fruit 1.

A workman's sleeveless tunic priced at 10d. was Socrates' final exhibit in his demonstration of how cheaply a man might live in Athens.

3.4. Of twenty-eight sleeveless tunics purchased by the Eleusinian treasurers for the public slaves eleven were bought from Callias of Megara for 7d.3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ob. each, thirteen from Stephanus the draper for 7d.1ob. each, and four from Midus of Megara for 7d.4ob. each.Cloaks etc.

The evidence for cloaks is more plentiful and varied.

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
Vth c. (2nd half)	cloak ? (πορφύρεα)	300d.	Plutarch, Moralia 30. (De Tranquillitate Animi 10.470F)
423/2	warm cloak (χλαίνα) (6,000d.)		Aristophanes, Vespae 1145-7
IVth c. (early)	cloak (ἱμάτιον), hire of, from a cleaner by the day	$\frac{1}{2}$ ob.	Aeschines (Socraticus) Telauges, Vestigia XVIII. (v. Athenaeus V.220)
393/2 or 390/89	cloak (ἱμάτιον)	16d.	Aristophanes, Eccles. 408-15
389/8	cloak (ἱμάτιον)	20d.	Aristophanes, Plutus 982-3
329/8	cloak (ἱμάτιον)	18d.3ob.	I.G. ii ² 1672 102-3
329/8	workman's goatskin jerkin (διφθέρεα)	4d.3ob.	I.G. ii ² 1672 104
327/6	workman's goatskin jerkin (διφθέρεα)	3d.	I.G. ii ² 1673 46-7
327/6	workman's goatskin jerkin (διφθέρεα)	2d.3ob.	I.G. ii ² 1673 47
IIIrd c.	warm cloak (χλαίνα)	300d.	Herodas, II. 21-3

Notes.

Of. Wine 1, and Honey 1.

'Purple' (πορφύρεα) at three minae is cited by Socrates' friend as evidence of the high cost of living at Athens. For date and details, v. Barley Meal 2. As no cloth measure is specified, it seems probable that the reference is to an actual garment (v., also, Boeckh p. 146), or at any rate to a cloak length.

CLOTHES.

Cloaks etc. (contd.)

Notes (contd.)

2. This price (contemporary with the play) is bracketed as it is certainly a comic exaggeration. Bdelycleon, in an endeavour to rouse his father, Philocleon, from the state of despondency produced by the acquittal of the Dog-defendant in the mock trial, prepares to introduce him into fashionable society. Philocleon's old *τεῖρων* must be discarded in favour of a modish *χλαῖνα* (1131-2 ff.), with reference to which Philocleon, to brighten his father's shocked excitement, says: "But this was given abroad and no expense spared (*πολλαῖς δαπάναις*). let me tell you it was easily swallowed up at a cost worth of wool."

3. Systematically hired, the cost of the cloak for a year's wear would have been approximately 30d.

4. For the date, v. Wheat 7.

An Athenian citizen attending the Assembly without a cloak (possibly his cloak had been purloined by his wife as Blepyrus' cloak had been by Traxagora, that disguised as men they might pack the Assembly to pass a resolution transferring the government from the men to the women) - an Athenian citizen attending the Assembly without a cloak, when debating the preservation of the State, remarks to his audience, who have noticed his lack of a cloak, that he himself is in need of preservation at the cost of four staters. (*δεῖτε μὲν με δέομενον σωτηρίας τετραστάτηρος καὶ τοῦ* .) In such a context, the stater must be the silver stater, the tetradrachm.

5. Twenty drachmae, as the sum wheedled out of a raddled old woman by an equiescent young lover, no doubt represents the cost of a cloak of superior quality - a conclusion borne out by the fact that it is 25 per cent in advance of a price of similar date (v. Cloaks 4).

6. Sixty years later (v. Cloaks 5 and cf. 4) cloaks for the public slaves, purchased from Antigenes of Megara by the Eleusinian Treasurers, cost 18d. 3ob. each.

7. Cf. last note. Goatskin jerkins were likewise provided for the seventeen slaves, at a cost of 4d. 3ob. each.

8. Cf. last note. Two years later, of twenty-eight goatskin jerkins for the public slaves entered in the Accounts of the Eleusinian Treasurers twelve were bought from Syrus living in Collytis for 3d. each, and sixteen from Antheus at 2d. 3ob. each.

9. How much reliance may be placed on figures appearing in the Mimes of Produs is difficult to assess. The prices quoted for shoes (v. p. 10) I should certainly not take seriously - they are obviously an essential part of the satire. In the mime dealing with the Pandar, however, the satire surely lies in the poor mouth made by the Pandar, whose trade was no doubt lucrative. It may, therefore, find expression simply in the reversal of his circumstances and those of the defendant. The defendant's wealth is illustrated by his possession of a *χλαῖνα*, while the Pandar in his alleged poverty has only a *τεῖρων*. Even so, allowance should probably be made for ordinary comic exaggeration. The price is paralleled (v. Cloaks 1), but Plutarch's figure is not necessarily reliable. (It might even have been influenced by this other.)

Pollux (fl. A.D. 180) calls the *χλαμύς*, the short cloak worn by poor men, *τειστάτης*, worth twelve drachmae (VI.165). It may be noted, that though there is no record of the initial cost of the poor/

CLOAKS.Cloaks etc. (contd.)Notes (contd.)

poor man's cloak, the fuller's fee for cleaning the *τείρω* is mentioned by Aristophanes (Vespae 1127-8). He cites three obols.

Notes.

Again the evidence is confined to one type of hat, the workman's *καλός*. I have been unable to find any reference to the cost of the

Notes.

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
329/8	a felt cap (<i>πίλος</i>)	1d. $\frac{3}{4}$ ob.	I.G. ii ² 1672 70-1
327/6	a felt cap (<i>πίλος</i>)	1d. $\frac{3}{4}$ ob.	I.G. ii ² 1673 47-8

Notes.

An entry in the accounts of the Eleusinian Treasurers for 329/8 B.C. records the purchase from Thettales of seventeen hats for the public slaves at a total expenditure of 4d. $5\frac{3}{4}$ ob. (Cf. Cloaks 6 and 7; Shoes 3; and the following note.)

Cf. the last note (also Cloaks 8 and 9; and Shoes 4). Felt hats were bought in 327/6 B.C. for twenty-eight public slaves at the cost of $1\frac{3}{4}$ ob. each.

Notes.

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
389/8	sandals (<i>ὑποδήματα</i>)	8d.	Aristophanes, Plutus 982-3
329/8	sandals (<i>ὑποδήματα</i>)	6d.	I.G. ii ² 1672 105
329/8	cobbling (<i>ὑποδημάτων δημοδίοις κάττωσις</i>) per pair	4d.	I.G. ii ² 1672 109
327/6	a pair (<i>ζεύγος</i>)	1d. 5ob.	I.G. ii ² 1673 48
		1d. $4\frac{1}{4}$ ob.	48-9
		2d. $1\frac{1}{4}$ ob.	49
	nails per pair (<i>ἥλοι εἰς ἑκάστον τὸ ζεύγος</i>)	1ob.	49
	stitching (<i>κατΰσαντι τὰς</i>) per pair	1d. 5ob.	49-50

Notes.

For context, v. Cloaks 5. The sandals, like the cloak, were no doubt of superior quality.

CLOTHES.

Shoes (contd.)

Notes (contd.)

3. The Eleusinian Accounts for 329/8 B.C. record the purchase of sandals for seventeen public slaves from Apollophanes, at a cost of 1 lb. the pair. This purchase was made in the second prytany. All seventeen pairs were repaired by Apollophanes in the sixth prytany. A further repairing of sandals for the public slaves is recorded in the tenth prytany, but the figure ΔΔΔΔτ.... is incomplete. (Cf. Cloaks 6 and 7; Cloaks 1; and the following note.)

Following on the purchase of twenty-eight sleeveless tunics, twenty-eight goatskin jerkins and twenty-eight felt caps for the public slaves in the accounts of the Eleusinian Treasurers for 327/6 B.C. comes the entry not (as in the accounts for 329/8 B.C.) of the purchase of ὑποδήματα, but of twenty-eight ξέβγη (fourteen being bought from Philoxenus at 1 lb. 5 ob. each ξέβγος, six from Alciades of Anagyra at 1 lb. 4 1/4 ob. each ξέβγος, and eight from a third source at 2 d. 1 1/2 ob. each ξέβγος). The next entry records the purchase of an obol's worth of nails for each ξέβγος; the next a payment κατῴσαντι τῷ τῷ ἔργῳ πλὴν ἐνέει τῶν..... ἐν τῷ ἐνικυτῷ. τὰ δὲ δις ἐν τῷ ἐνικυτῷ at the rate of 1 d. 5 ob. the ξέβγος. I have no doubt at all that these entries refer to footwear* for the public slaves, but I am uncertain about their proper interpretation. The view I favour is that they refer to the initial provision of sandals, with the cost of materials (twenty-eight 'pairs' and an obol's worth of nails for each pair) and of workmanship (the initial payment κατῴσαντι) separately recorded. So regarded the total expenditure, variously 3 d. 5 ob., 3 d. 4 1/4 ob. and 4 d. 1 1/2 ob., as against 6 d. for the finished article in 329/8 B.C., shows a drop in price comparable to that in the price of goatskin jerkins, which in 329/8 B.C. cost 4 d. 3 ob., but in 327/6 B.C.?, some 3 d. and others 2 d. 3 ob. Objection may, however, be taken to the change in annotation of the word κατῴσω. In the accounts of 329/8 B.C. where, some months after the initial purchase of the finished article for 6 d. a pair, there is an entry ὑποδήματων δημοσίοις κατῴσαντι at 4 d. the pair, and later another entry for κάπροις, the word must surely refer to repairs. Again in the accounts of 327/6 B.C., it must refer to repairs as well as to the initial stitching, as nine of the twenty-eight pairs are entered as having been stitched a second time (the charge being the same as that made for the original workmanship). On the other hand, if the entry of twenty-eight 'pairs' is taken to indicate the purchase of the finished article (the ξέβγη of 327/6 B.C. being taken as synonymous with the ὑποδήματα of 329/8 B.C.) and κατῴσαντι to refer, as κάπροις in the accounts of 329/8 B.C., to repairs, then for fourteen pairs initial cost (excluding an obol for nails) and subsequent cobbling are identical (1 d. 5 ob.), and for six pairs the subsequent cobbling (1 d. 5 ob.) actually exceeds the initial cost (1 d. 4 1/4 ob.). This creates, besides, too considerable a discrepancy between the cost of the ὑποδήματα of 329/8 B.C. (6 d.) and that of the ξέβγη of 327/6 B.C. (1 d. 5 ob.) to admit of ready explanation. Not that the figure 1 d. 5 ob. (plus 1 ob. for nails) is without parallel if, like the commentator on the seventh mime of Herodas (300-250 B.C.), one skips the centuries and (disregarding the context, which implies that the purchase was a cheap one) quotes Lucian's (A.D. 150-200) 2 d. as the 'ordinary price'.**

Cf. γύναι, μὴς μὴς ἐστὶν ἄξιον τοῦτο τὸ ξέβγος and καίνο τὸ ἔτερον ξέβγος
Herodas, Mime VII.

Lucian, Dialogues of Courtesans, 7.14

CLOTHES.

Does (contd.)

Notes (contd.)

I have not included in this table the greatly debated prices from the seventh mime of Herodas. That they are not to be taken seriously is surely obvious from the satirical character of the mime. The first pair of shoes (of exquisite workmanship and material) exhibited by Kerdon, the shoe-maker (a fluent rogue), to his fashionable customer Metro and her glibulous friends he protests to be worth a mina. Not if Athene herself were the customer, could he make the slightest reduction. After various exchanges following on the resultant outcry, one of the ladies (accusing Kerdon, more truly than she knew, of bribing Metro to bring them there to be robbed) asks the price of another pair she fancies. "Five staters," is Kerdon's reply, and to excite greater desire in the prospective purchaser he tells her that Euteris, the flute-player, is also interested in that very pair, but that not even by the promise of four darics would he be induced to part with them to her. She had insulted his wife. An expert salesman, he then stresses his client's obvious need of new shoes, suggests that it would be a pity to allow any of her rivals to walk off with these exclusive models, and finally offers "for Metro's sake" to make a sacrifice and let her friend have both pairs for seven darics. How greatly these prices have exercised the commentators is evident from Knox's review of earlier opinions and Nairn's Excursus. Enter into the spirit of the mime, however, admit the caricature, take into account the fondness of the Greek for bargaining, and the difficulties resolve themselves. I can see no objection to Kerdon's asking precisely the same price in other words (1 mina = 5 gold staters, v. Boeckh p.34) for the second pair of shoes that attracts the lady's attention. It is in keeping once with his impudence and her expensive taste in footwear. Nor do I share the view that four darics must be more than five staters. That is to overlook the Greek love of bargaining (an essential feature of this time). Kerdon would naturally ask in the first instance much more than he hoped to get. To be offered in other words (the gold stater and the daric being equivalent in value, v. Boeckh p. 34) four-fifths of his initial demand was no doubt highly satisfactory, as may be seen from the text itself. For seven darics (seven-tenths of the figures first asked) Kerdon subsequently parts with the two pairs of shoes for which he had originally demanded a mina and five staters respectively, and so satisfied is he with this sale that, as the ladies are leaving the shop, he detains Metro, who had introduced them, to tell her that if she calls a few days there will be a pair of red slippers for her. He adds significantly (and so ends the mime) "You see, we must take care to mend the cloak that keeps us warm."* The need to suppose that four darics is a larger sum than five staters is conditioned by translation of κῆν τέσσαρες etc. as an unfulfilled condition in future time - the sense being "but I am no friend of hers, and I wouldn't sell them to her, not if she were to promise me four darics". May not ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι he taken as pressing a repeated action and κῆν τ the sense being "but I hate her, Edwin, Greek Moods and Tenses, 51) - that as palpable exaggerations of/when she promises me four darics". True or false as these observations may be, the fact remains that as palpable exaggerations of/

According, at least, to Nairn's reading and interpretation (θάλπουσαν εὖ ἑαυτὸν φρονούμεν καὶ ἑάπτειν - "we must think betimes to keep well mended the cloak that warms us"), but Knox disallows these and reads τῆς οὖν βαίτης θάλπους ἄνευ ἑαυτὸν τὸν φρονούμεν δεῖ ἑάπτειν - "for the we must stitch his cloak indoors out of the heat".

CLOTHES.

of actual prices these figures of Herodas find no place in this table.

Jewellery.

All the prices for jewellery relate to rings.

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
412/11	a ring (δακτύλιος)	3ob.	Aristophanes, Thesmoph. 424-5
389/8	a ring (δακτύλιος)	1d.	Aristophanes, Plutus 883-4
IVth c. (c.middle)	a ring (δακτύλιος)	1d.	Antiphanes, Omphale IIK. 84, v. Athenaeus III.123b

Notes.

For three obols Athenian wives had hitherto been able to buy the counterpart of their husbands' seal rings, which by enabling them to replace the husband's broken seal gave them secret access to the stores. Pripides is blamed for suggesting to the husbands the security afforded by a complicated lock and the use of a worm-eaten seal which defied imitation.

No doubt made more credulous by the cost, the Just Man considers a ring sold him by Eudemus for a drachma potent magic against the furious accusations of the convicted informer, enraged at sight of the just Man's enjoyment of his former possessions.

Again on the strength of its cost, a drachma, the speaker puts his faith in a ring, as a protective charm against every internal ill, rather than in the professional skill of the "very able" doctor from whom he has bought it.

Clothing etc., as part of a dowry

The worth of clothing given as part of a dowry may suitably be noticed

Date.	Item.	Drachmae.	Source.
c.359/8	part of a dowry - jewellery and cloaks (χρυσία καὶ ἱμάτια)	1,000d.	Demosthenes XLI.27 (c. Spudiam)
IVth c. (late) or IIIrd c. (early)	part of a dowry - clothing (ἐσθῆς)	200d.	I.J.G. vol. I, pt. 2, VI.p.49 no.1
IVth c. (late) or IIIrd c. (early)	part of a dowry - clothing (ἐσθῆς)	300d.	I.J.G. vol. i, pt. 2, VI.p.50 no.4
IVth c. (late) or IIIrd c. (early)	part of a dowry - clothing (ἐσθῆς)	500d.	I.J.G. vol. I, pt. 2, VI.p.50 no.6

CLOTHES.Clothing etc., as part of a dowry (contd.)

Notes.

1. For date and details, v. Houses, Table I, 19. The defendant wished to argue that of the forty minae alleged by the plaintiff to have been given in dowry with the younger daughter of Polyoeuctus on her second marriage ten minae were paid in kind, and that the plaintiff had received a similar gift in kind.

2,3,4. These figures belonging to the end of the fourth or to the beginning of the third century B.C. come from Myconos.

5. Of a dowry of 1,300d., 100d. were paid in cash, 200d. in kind (clothing) company shares worth 1,000d. (with a guarantee of cash on demand) made up the total.

6. Of a dowry of 700d., 100d. were paid in cash, 300d. in kind (clothing). Premises ($\sigma\tau\eta\kappa\eta\mu\alpha$) were pledged as security for the remaining 300d.

7. In addition to a dowry of 1,000d. (of which only 100d. in cash was immediately received) clothing to the value of 500d. was at once handed over.

'RICH' AND 'POOR'.

What, then, may be said of 'rich' and 'poor' in Athens of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.? It was earlier suggested that comparison of the incomes of rich and poor might be made; that their abundance, adequacy, or inadequacy might be established in relation to contemporary costs (indicated by extant prices for food, shelter and clothing); and that they might be further examined in light of current incomes similarly considered. The preceding pages set out, with relevant comment, the evidence for costs in ancient Greece. It yet remains to review the evidence for incomes in fifth and fourth century Athens before an answer to the question may be attempted.

First, however, certain other figures claim consideration. In lawsuits which, while they relate to a cross-section of the community, are the chief source of information about the financial circumstances of the more prosperous citizens) reference is more often made to the value (actual or conjectural) of a man's estate (real and personal) than to the size of his income. These figures too are relevant. Not only do they suggest the relative importance of the fortunes of various 'rich' men, but, since it is valuation of their property at three hundred drachmae or less* that made competent the claim of the disabled and incapacitated for relief, they also make possible a comparison which contributes to a better understanding of the distinction between wealth and indigence in ancient Athens. They are accordingly tabulated, with appropriate comments appended.

It may be objected that this interpretation of Aristotle's text is arbitrary. The Greek reads: νόμος γὰρ ἐστὶν ὃς κελεύει τοὺς ἐντὸς τριῶν ἴων κεκτημένους καὶ τὸ σῶμα πεπηρωμένους ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι μηδὲν ἔργον πράξεσθαι δοκιμάσειν μὲν τὴν βουλήν, δίδόναι δὲ δημοσίᾳ τεοφὴν δύο ἡμῶν ἐκάστῃ τῆς ἡμέρας Ath. Pol. 49. The expression τοὺς ἐντὸς τριῶν ἴων κεκτημένους** admittedly means 'those possessed of less than three minae', but common sense requires the law to define the upper limit. The obvious implication - in the absence of explicit definition - is surely three minae, not two minae ninety-nine drachmae. (The round sum of three minae is thought to represent a labourer's maximum annual earnings in the latter part of the fifth century B.C.; v. Oxford Companion to Classical Literature p. 61.) A variation in the amount of relief granted may be noted here. ἐδοκιμάζοντο δὲ οἱ ἀδύνατοι ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν πεντακοσίων ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐλάμβανον τῆς ἡμέρας, ὥς μὲν Λυσίας λέγει, ὅβολον ἓνα, ὥς δὲ Πλάτων, πέντε, Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ δύο ἔφη. Lex. Seg. p. 200, 3., v. anyone on Ath. Pol. 49. In a speech of Lysias, which seems to have been delivered shortly after the restoration of the democracy (403 B.C.), a petitioner for relief says that the subject of his speech is "only an obol" (πρὸς βρολοῦ μόνον ποιοῦμαι τοὺς λόγους Lysias XXIV.26). It seems probable that each author gives the rate appropriate to his own day; that an obol was the grant made in the fifth century; that two obols were given in the fourth century, and five in the third. (Lysias c.459/8 - 381/0; Aristotle 384/3 - 322/1; Philochorus, executed c.262/1.)

For the use of κεκτημένους to denote capital, cf. κεκτησθαι (Lysias XIX, v. infra p. 90).

'RICH' AND 'POOR'.Estates.100 talents

IVth c. common estimate of 600T. Suidas, v. 'Επικράτης
Epicrates' estate

Note: The entry in Suidas reads: 'Επικράτης: Ἀθηναίων δημαγωγός, ἡρώος ἐπικαλούμενος· οὗ καὶ Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ περὶ πρεσβείας μνημονεύει. ἡρώος δὲ ἐστὶν, οὗ μνημονεύει Λυκούργος ἐν τῷ περὶ Διοικήσεως· ὃν φασὶ κερτῆσθαι τάλαντων χ', οὐσίαν. ἄλλος δὲ ἐστὶν Ἐπικράτης, Αἰσχίνου τοῦ ἡρώος κηδεστής.

100 talents

Vth c. estimate of his own 200T. Lysias XIX. 48
(beginning) property by Callias (De Bonis Aristophanis)
the second, son of
Hipponicus the second

Note: The speaker (the defendant in 388 or 387 B.C. against a charge of withholding some part of a confiscated property found to be worth much less than had been generally expected) to substantiate his assertion - "I have been told by my father and other elderly people that you have had similar experiences in the past of being deceived in the fortunes of many men who were supposed to be wealthy while they yet lived, but whose death showed your supposition to be wide of the mark" (Lysias XIX. 45, Greek translation) - instances Callias the third, son of Hipponicus the third, whose rateable property then stood at less than two talents (Lysias XIX. 48)* although just after his father had been killed in the battle of Delium (424 B.C.) he "was thought to have more in his possession than any other Greek, and the story goes that his grandfather valued his own property at two hundred talents". (πλείστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔκει κερτῆσθαι, καὶ ὡς φασὶ διακοσίων τάλαντων ἐτιμήσατο τὸ αὐτοῦ ὁ παππός.) That the wealth of this family was legendary appears from numerous references. A probable interpolation in Herodotus (VI.122) refers to the lavish expenditure of the first Callias (grandfather of the second Callias) on successful chariot-racing at the Olympic and Pythian Games - ἀνερῶθ' ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας πάντας δαπάνησι μερίστησι - and to the comparative magnificence of the devices he bestowed on his three daughters - ἔδωκέ σφι δωρεῶν μεταλοπρεπεστάτην. Athenaeus has a tale (II.53c) of how, by acquiring a treasure entrusted to him by an Eretrian whom the Persians carried away captive, Hipponicus, father of the second Callias, increased the family wealth. As for Callias the second himself, Aristotle (Arist. Ethic. 25c) says that he was considered the richest of the Athenians (πλουσιώτατος ὢν Ἀθηναίων). Andocides calls his son, Hipponicus the third, πλουσιώτατος τῶν Ἑλλήνων (De Mysteriis 130), and Epicrates (Concerning the Team of Horses 31) speaks of him as πλούτω ὢν τῶν Ἑλλήνων. He mentions also that it was with a very big dowry - μετὰ πρῶτης πλείστης - that he gave his daughter in marriage to Alcibiades. Pseudo-Andocides also notices this (c. Alcibiadem 13)/

* Estates, note 13 - if Callias was registered at the highest rate, his property must have been valued at ten talents.

'RICH' AND 'POOR'.Estates (contd.)

(c. Alcibiadem), specifying the sum of ten talents, and mentions the exaction by Alcibiades of as much again after the death of Hipponicus on the strength of an alleged promise of his that an additional ten talents would be handed over on the birth of a son - a story which Plutarch repeats (Alcibiades 8). The actual sum received by Alcibiades matters little. Its reputed magnificence is represented by a figure without parallel except in comedy. A character in Menander's *Plocion* thinks a dowry of sixteen talents poor compensation for his wife's lack of beauty (402K), but even a quarter of that sum - four talents paid in cash - is obviously abnormally large in the *Epitrepontes* (Act I), and in the *Poneiazomenae* the offer of three talents with five minae for dress and jewellery excites the exclamation "I'm dreaming", and in the fullness of his heart the father in the *Periceiomene* (720K) offers a dowry of three talents with his new-found daughter. In real life, however, so far as extant records show, only the wealthy Pasion secured a dowry of over three talents to his widow (three talents forty minae secured on lands and a tenement) in addition to her slave-girls, ornaments and all the rest of her personal property (Dem. XLV.28). Apollodorus, their son, disputing the validity of this provision, speaks of the dowry as "such as no man in the city was ever known to give" (*περιστέλης περικαύστην ὁδοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει φαίνεται* Dem. XLV. 35), and represents its total worth to have been five talents (Dem. XLV. 74). A two talent dowry in cash was bequeathed for his daughter by Demosthenes' father (Dem. XXVII. 5 and 65), and in addition to a house worth three thousand drachmae and its furnishings, one talent, twenty minae for his widow (Dem. XXVII.5; XXVIII.16; XXIX.48). That given by Onetor with his sister is variously represented as one talent (Dem. XXX.20) and as one talent, twenty minae (Dem. XXI.1, 7 and 9). Forty minae were given by Stephanus with his daughter (Dem. XLV.66). That dowries of a talent were themselves well in advance of the ordinary is sufficiently attested (Lysias XXXII.6; Dem. III.6 and 7; Theophrastus XXVII). There is epigraphical evidence for four dowries of a talent or over - one of one talent, twenty minae was secured on land and a house in Attica (I.G. ii²2659); Demosthenes' cousin had one of a talent secured on land in Attica (I.G. ii 2670); and two fathers in Myconos gave with their daughters dowries of two talents, twenty minae and of one talent, forty minae respectively (I.J.G. pp. 49-50, 2.3). Dowries of from one thousand to three thousand drachmae (of a sixth to half of a talent) seem to have been not uncommon (e.g. Plutarch, Aristides 27; Isaeus V.26; VII.8; X.40; III.40, 50; II.3, 5; Lysias XVI.10; XIX.15; Plato, *Epistle XIII*, 361E; Demosthenes XLI.3, 29; LIX.50; and many inscriptions, I.G. ii 2660 ff.). An examination of the figures for dowries coupled with the remark in Isaeus' speech (XI.40) on a dowry of twenty minae (a third of a talent) that "so small a dowry would not be given to a husband with a large fortune" (*τοσαύτην περὶς οὐκ εἰς πολλὴν τιμὴν οὐσίαν ὀρεσθῆν*) suggests that large fortunes were few. Cornelius Nepos in his life of Alcibiades (2) says that he had for his father-in-law the richest of the Greeks. (Socorum habuit Hipponicum, omnium Graecorum ditissimum.)

Vth c. popular estimate of 200T. Lysias XIV. 37
(2nd half) Alcibiades' fortune ? (c. Alcibiadem 1)

Note: "After undertaking that, for his sake, the king would provide us with money, he embezzled more than two hundred talents of our city's funds" (Lysias XIV. 37, Loeb translation) was an aspersion cast on the defendant's father by the prosecution, when in 395 B.C. the younger/

'RICH' AND 'POOR'.Estates (contd.)

younger Alcibiades was charged with desertion. This may well be a conventional estimate of the fortune of a man whose reputation for reckless extravagance, early established by the trustworthy testimony of Thucydides (VI.12; VI.16), was notorious (v., for example, Pseudo-Isocrates, Isocrates and Plutarch). To focus attention on a hereditary tendency to corrupt dealing rhetoric need not hesitate to represent Alcibiades' entire estate as thus ill-gotten. .

160 talents

IVth c. confiscated property of 160T. Pseudo-Plutarch,
(2nd half) Diphilus X Or.Vit. VII.3.4
(Life of Lycurgus)

Note: According to the writer the fortune of Diphilus, who was fined for mining offence, was distributed among the citizens, each receiving fifty drachmae. καὶ θανάτου ὄντος ἐπιτιμίου ἁλῶναι ἐποίησε καὶ πωτῆκοντα πενήκως ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ ἑκάστῳ τῶν πολιτῶν διένειμε, τῶν πάντων ἀναχθέντων ταλάντων ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα. ἢ ὥς τινες, μνηστ.

100 talents

Vth c. popular estimate of Nicias' 100T. Lysias XIX.47
(2nd half) fortune (De Bonis Aristophanis)

Note: Public opinion credited Nicias (d. 413 B.C.) with an estate of a hundred talents. (ὁ τοίνυν Νικίου οἶκος προσεδοκᾶτο εἶναι οὐκ ἑλαττον ἢ καὶ ταλάντων, καὶ τούτων τὰ πολλὰ ἔγδοον.) A few years later the property left by his son Niceratus (403 B.C.) to his son Nicias is estimated, in the event, by the speaker at no more than fourteen talents (ἀλλὰ τὴν οὐσίαν κατέλιπε τῷ υἱεῖ, οὐ πλείονος ἄξια ἐστὶν ἢ τεττάρων καὶ δέκα ταλάντων). That a hundred talents was a conventional figure for a fortune seems probable. Plutarch (Themistocles 25), quoting as his authority for the larger figure Theopompus and for the smaller Theophrastus, gives a hundred talents or eighty talents as the fraction of Themistocles' wealth which the State managed to confiscate on the discovery of his intrigues with Pausanias of Sparta. Plutarch adds "although he wasn't worth three talents before he came to power" (τεῖσιν ἄξια ταλάντων κεκτημένου τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους πρὶν ἔπεσθαι τῆς πολιτείας) - which calls to mind the defendant's remark in Lysias XIX.49, "people think nothing of stating that so-and-so has feathered his nest well while in office" (ὁ δέσινᾳ ἔχει πάντα πολλὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς).

80 talents

Vth c. speaker's estimate of 80T. Lysias XXVI.22
(2nd half) the family estate

Note: Wishing to impress his hearers with his superiority to Eurybulus (who was to defend Evandros, the citizen attacked as unfit to be archon) the speaker recalls the good service given by his own family to the State. "Our estate in time of peace," he says, "amounted to eighty talents (ἐν εἰρήνῃ μὲν ὀγδοηκοντατάλλαντος ἡμῶν ὁ οἶκος ἔχεντο), in the war the whole of it was spent for the city's deliverance." True or false, exaggerated or exact as his statement may be, the context gives no doubt about the impressiveness of the figure.

'RICH' AND 'POOR'.

Estates (contd.)

10 talents

IVth c. Pasion's estate 70T. Dem. XXXVI. 5
(1st half) (Pro Phormione)

Note: Demosthenes summarizes Pasion's estate as consisting of landed property worth about twenty talents and of more than fifty talents of invested capital. His property included the bank which after his retirement brought in an annual rent of one talent, forty minae (Dem. XXXVI.11, 37, and 51; XLV.32) and a shield factory which brought in an annual rent of a talent (Dem. XXVI.11, 37 and 51; XLV.32). For corroboration of his possessing wealth considerably greater than that of his fellows, cf. preceding notes.

10 talents

IVth c. Conon's estate c.40T. Lysias XIX. 39-40
(beg.) (De Bonis Aristophanis)

Note: The speaker (v. Estates, note 2) contends that the dispositions made under Conon's will showed that his estate represented "a small fraction" (πολλοστὸν μέρος) of the sum anticipated by public opinion. Five thousand staters (= sixteen talents, forty minae) were dedicated in offerings to Athene and Apollo at Delphi; about ten thousand drachmae (one talent, forty minae) were left to his nephew; three talents to his mother; and the rest, seventeen talents, to his son. "The sum total," says the speaker, "comes to about forty talents," and he calls witnesses to the genuineness of the will.

10 talents

IVth c. Demosthenes' estimate 30T. Dem. XXX.10-1
(1st half) of Onetor's property (c. Onetorem)

Note: Referring to the arrangement made by Onetor on giving his sister in marriage to Aphobus - that her dowry should remain in the hands of her former husband, Timocrates, who would pay Aphobus interest at ten per cent so long as he retained it - Demosthenes says, "They can't say it was poverty (ἀπορία) that kept them from handing it over at once, for Timocrates has an estate of more than ten talents and Onetor one of more than thirty." He further instances as evidence that they were not short of ready money their ability to lend considerable sums (κεφάλαια τε γὰρ οὐκ ἀνείχουσιν ἄλλοις οὐκ ὀλίγον). Thirty talents, which may or may not represent the whole of Ergocles' estate (Lysias XXIX.1-2), is clearly regarded as a sum of sufficient magnitude to excite the citizens, when at the death of Ergocles and the confiscation of his property, no trace of it can be found.

10 talents

Vth c. Ischomachus' estate 20T. Lysias XIX. 46
(end) or (De Bonis Aristophanis)
IVth c.
(beg.)

Note: On the death of Ischomachus, whom common report credited with/

'RICH' AND 'POOR'.Estates (contd.)

with more than seventy talents, that is with being as rich as Pasion (cf. Estates, note 6), division of his estate gave each of his two sons less than ten talents. (πάντες ὄντο εἶναι πλεῖν ἢ ἑβδομήκοντα τάλαντα ἐναιμάσθην δὲ τῷ υἱεὶ οὐδὲ δέκα τάλαντα ἑκάτερος ἀποθνήσκοντος.) Cf. Estates, 15.

7 talents

1. IVth c. inheritance of Timotheus, 17T. Lysias XIX. 39-40
(beg.) son of Conon (De Bonis Aristophanis)

note: v. Estates, note 8.

6 talents

2. Vth c. estate of Diodotus 15T. Lysias XXXII.5,6,13,14,
(end) (c. Diogeitonem) 15

note: The items given in the detail of Diogeiton's estate are collectively worth rather more than fifteen talents. Mention is made of deposit of five talents left by Diodotus with his brother Diogeiton, whom he had appointed guardian of his children (XXXII. 5,13), of a sum of seven talents, forty minae recovered from a bottomry loan (XXXII.6,14), of twenty minae invested in the Chersonese (XXXII.6, implied in 15), of one talent, forty minae recovered from mortgages (XXXII.15), of other twenty minae (XXXII.15), and - which brings the total over fifteen talents - of valuable furniture (XXXII.15). The speaker's assertion that Diogeiton, accused of appropriating his wards' property, "is intent on reducing them from affluence to beggary" (οὗς.... ἐντὶ πλουσίων πτωχοὺς ποιεῖ ξαί προθυμεῖ XXXII.17), even when allowance for rhetorical effect has been made, gives some indication of the prosperity that possession of an estate of fifteen talents implied.

3. IVth c. estate of Demosthenes' 15T. Demosthenes XXVII.4,7,9
(1st half) father (c. Aphobum 1)

note: The figure is approximate. Demosthenes' father left an estate of almost fourteen talents (κατέλιπεν οὐσίαν μὲν σχεδὸν τεττάρων καὶ δέκα τάλαντων XXVII.4), and fifty minae which had constituted his wife's dowry (ἐν δὲ τὴν ἡμετέραν μητέρα πενήκοντα μνᾶς εἰς τὸν οἶκον εἰσενεχέμενην XXVII.4). His guardians allowed the estate to be inscribed in the register of rateable values at three talents, the rateable value of an estate of fifteen talents (XXXII.7,9), an assessment which put Demosthenes into the highest tax-paying class since "Timotheus, son of Conon, and men of the largest fortunes" (καὶ οἱ τὰ μέγιστα κεκτημένοι) were also assessed at a fifth of their estates. Timotheus, son of Conon, (cf. Estates, 11 and 8) had inherited seventeen talents from his father. It not only does Demosthenes class Timotheus with "men of the largest fortunes", but he refers to his own patrimony (where the context shows that he is employing meiosis) as "not a small one" (XXX.7). Detail of the estate of almost fourteen talents is given (XXVII.9-11). A sword factory/

'RICH' AND 'POOR'.Estates (contd.)

With thirty-two or -three slaves (worth, most of them, about five or six minae each, and none less than three) produced annually a clear thirty minae. A couch factory with twenty slaves, who were security for forty minae, brought in twelve minae each year. A talent lent at 12 per cent yielded more than seven minae a year. Put briefly, Demosthenes says a capital of four talents, fifty minae produced an annual income of fifty minae. Materials in the factories at Demosthenes' father's death were worth two talents, thirty minae; his house was worth thirty minae; furniture, plate, his wife's jewels and clothes were valued at one talent, forty minae; and cash in the house amounted to one talent, twenty minae. For the rest, there was a bottomry loan of one talent, ten minae, a sum of twenty-four minae in Pasion's bank, six minae in Pylades' bank, sixteen minae in Demomeles' bank, and one talent lent without interest in sums of two or three minae to friends. These items give a total of "more than eight talents, fifty minae" (viz. 8T.56m.) making a grand total of roughly fourteen talents (viz. 13T.46m.).

4 talents

IVth c. (beg.)	contemporary estimate of the inheritance of Nicias, son of Niceratus - grandson of the general of the Peloponnesian War	14T.	Lysias XIX.47 (De Bonis Aristophanis)
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note: v. Estates, note 5. The inheritance passed to him in 403 B.C.; the maker's estimate is made in 388 or 387 B.C.

5 talents

Vth c. (end) or IVth c. (beg.)	estate of Stephanus, son of Thallus	11T.	Lysias XIX.46 (De Bonis Aristophanis)
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note: Contrary to common report, which credited Stephanus with an estate more than fifty talents, he was found on his death to be worth eleven talents. For other such exaggerations, v. Estates 8 and 10. Eleven talents, though a fraction of the popular estimate, was a large enough sum in itself. Cf. 16,17,18, and 19.

6 talents

Vth c. (end) or IVth c. (beg.)	inheritance of each of Ischomachus' two sons	10T.	Lysias XIX.46 (De Bonis Aristophanis)
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note: For comment, v. Estates, note 10. That such an inheritance was not considerable, items 18, 19 and 20 show. Ischomachus' estate was small in comparison with the estimate (three and a half times as great) of popular opinion.

'RICH' AND 'POOR'.Estates (contd.)10 talents (contd.)

7. IVth c. property of Callias the third 10T. ? Lysias XIX.48
(beg.) (De Bonis Aristophanis)

Note: v. Estates, note 16. Ten talents, though a small fraction of two hundred (v. Estates, note 2), evidently represented considerable prosperity. The figure is conjectural: it is based on the possibly erroneous assumption* that Callias' rateable property was rated at a fifth of his whole estate.

8. IVth c. Demosthenes' estimate of 10T. Dem. XXX.10-11
(1st half) Timocrates' property (c. Onetorem 1)

Note: For comment, v. Estates, note 9.

9. IVth c. inheritance of Aphobus 10T. Dem. XXVIII.18
(1st half) (c. Aphobum 2)

Note: Demosthenes says that his hearers all know that Aphobus, in spite of his considerable inheritance (πολλὴν οὐσίαν παρελαβὼν), has exhibited generosity towards them (XXVIII,22).

talents +

10. Vth c. Socrates' estimate of the 8T.+ Xen. Oec. 2.3.
(2nd half) estate of Critobulus

Note: The figure is not an exact one. "I imagine, if I found a good buyer, all my effects, including my house, would fetch five minae easily enough, but yours, I know for certain, would fetch more than a hundred times as much," was Socrates' reply to Critobulus' query - "How much do you suppose your possessions would fetch if sold, and how much mine?" - provoked by Socrates enigmatic remark that he considered himself rich enough, but Critobulus very poor. The context makes it abundantly clear that the possession of five hundred minae (8T.20m.) made Critobulus an off-in-the-eyes of his fellows, though Socrates hazards that to respond as lavishly as his nature prompts to the social and political ills made on his purse, Critobulus would find a capital three times as great wholly inadequate. That a fortune of twenty-five talents was looked on as considerable, is surely implied.

talents

11. IVth c. Demosthenes' estimate of 7T. Dem. XVIII.312
(2nd half) Aeschines' estate (De Corona)

Note: Contrasting Aeschines' lack of public spirit with his own proved generosity, Demosthenes says that Aeschines' failure to make any contribution in time of crisis was not due to his poverty (οὐκ ἀποροῶν), hence, in addition to an inheritance of more than five talents from his father-in-law, a gift of two talents had been slipped him by the leaders of the Naval Boards for his damaging attack on Demosthenes' naval reforms. Earlier in his speech Demosthenes has said of approaches made directly to him "there was nothing they would not give" (οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅ τι ἐδόδοσαν) if the new plan could be brought to nothing (XVIII.104).

RICH' AND 'POOR'.Estates (contd.)talents

2. IVth c. the defendant's estimate 5T. 3,000d. Isaeus XI.42
(1st half) of Stratocles' estate,
whose son he was accused
of swindling (De Hagniae Hereditate)

Note: The detail of his estate is given as follows:

land at Thria (let at 12 minae the year)	2T. 3,000d.
house in Melite (together let at 3m.	3,000d.
house in Eleusis the year)	500d.
money lent at 18 per cent	4,000d.
furniture, sheep, barley, wine	4,900d.
and fruits	
cash in house	900d.
sums lent without interest	c.1,000d.

This amounts to 4T. 5,300d.

The discrepancy between this total and the speaker's earlier statement that the estate amounted to five talents, three thousand drachmae might mean that Stratocles' patrimony, which was included in the five talents, three thousand drachmae (κατέλιπε πέντε ταλάντων τῶν οὐσίαν τετρακισχίλιων δραχμῶν σὺν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πατρῷοις), amounted to three thousand seven hundred drachmae (cf. XI.40), or it might be explained by the speaker's inclusion of a year's interest (two thousand, two hundred and twenty drachmae) in the reckoning - he wished to make the sum as large as possible. This gives a total of five talents, one thousand, five hundred and twenty drachmae, which special pleading might readily represent as five and a half talents.

talents

3. IVth c. a citizen's estate 5T. Isaeus VII. 19,31.
(middle) (De Apollodori Hereditate)

Note: The owner of this estate dying childless, it was according to law divided between a sister's son and a second married sister. The speaker, whose opponents these persons were in the present suit, reproaches them with rapacity. They should rather have allowed the deceased to adopt a son to heir an undivided inheritance and prevent a family able to bear the expense of the most costly public service, the trierarchy, from dying out. "My opponents," says the speaker, "have viewed with indifference their brother's childlessness, and are in possession of his fortune" - they had sold his land for five talents and divided the proceeds - "and have allowed a family to die out which was obviously capable of supporting the expense of a trierarchy." (Loeb translation 32)

4. IVth c. estate of Philo, 5T. Dem. XVIII.312
father-in-law of
Aeschines

Note: v. Estates, note 21.

'RICH' AND 'POOR'.

Estates (contd.)

Talents

IVth c. (1st half)	inheritance of Cyronides as estimated by an opponent who disputes Cyronides' claim to a second estate	4T.	Isaeus X.23 (De Aristarchi Hereditate)
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note: The implication is that Cyronides, having already been fortunate enough to inherit an οἶκον πλέον ἢ τεττάρων τάλαντων, might well be content.

Talents +

IVth c. (1st half)	the defendant's estimate of his own estate, which he wishes to minimize	3T. 4,000d.	Isaeus XI.44 (De Hagniae Hereditate)
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note: The detail of his estate is given as follows:

property at Oenoe	5,000d.
property at Prospalta	3,000d.
house in Athens	2,000d.
estate inherited from Hagnias	c.2T.

Total 3T. 4,000d.

This time (cf. Estates, 22) there is no discrepancy.

IVth c. (beg.)	estate of Gorgias of Leontini	3T. 2,000d.	Isocrates XV.156
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note: Gorgias of Leontini (c.485-375 B.C.) was to the best of Isocrates' collection (speaking in 254/3 B.C.) the sophist who made most money (ἀρίστη κτησάμενος). Circumstances favoured him. An unmarried man, he is free from the responsibilities of rearing a family. Of no fixed domicile, he was under no financial obligation to the State. "Yet" - which suggests that while Gorgias might be reckoned prosperous he was not one of the richer rich men - "he left at his death only a thousand staters." (XV.156) Reckoned at twenty drachmae to the stater, his estate, therefore, amounted to three talents, twenty minae.

IVth c. (middle)	Isocrates' estimate of his own estate	3T. 2,000d.	Isocrates XV.158
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note: After asserting that at his death Gorgias of Leontini, the sophist who made most money, left a thousand staters, Isocrates says, "If then I will class me with the sophist who has made more money than any other, and will compare me with him, you will not seem to engage in utterly blind conjectures on such matters, nor shall I be found to have behaved badly in providing either for the public welfare or for my own. Though, as a matter of fact, I have lived on less than I have expended on my public duties (XV.158, Loeb translation).

Talents

IVth c. (2nd half)	estimate of the estate of Apollodorus	3T.	Dem. LIX. 6-7 (c. Neaeram)
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note: To excite the sympathies of his hearers for Apollodorus (who in/

'RICH' AND 'POOR'.

States (contd.)

in revenge for earlier actions brought against him, is now jointly engaged with Theomnestus, his brother-in-law, in prosecuting Stephanus), Theomnestus pictures the sad extremities to which Apollodorus and his innocent family would have been reduced had the jury endorsed Stephanus' malicious proposal of a fine of fifteen talents, when he earlier succeeded in his indictment of a decree of Apollodorus as illegal. Apollodorus, Theomnestus asserts, could not possibly have paid such a fine, as "his estate did not amount even to three talents" (ἡ μὲν γὰρ οὐσία οὐδὲ τριῶν τετρακύντων πᾶν τι ἦν). (Apollodorus originally inherited a half share in an estate of seventy talents (v. Estates 7, Pasion's estate): in spite of the ostentation and litigiousness of Apollodorus, three talents may have been an underestimate of what remained of his patrimony.) The lamentable consequences on which Theomnestus dwells were, however, averted. The jury saw fit to impose a fine of one talent only, so that Apollodorus was, with some difficulty, able to pay it (ἀλλ' ἴμμεδαν τετρακύντου, ὥστε δυνήσθηναι ἐκτεῖσαι μόλις).

That the possession of property to the capital value of three talents rendered a man liable to the performance of public services* is suggested by Demosthenes' complaint against his guardians. Whereas they had fraudulently deprived him of all but seventy minae of his substantial inheritance of fifteen talents, so that he (formerly charged with the performance of the most costly services and taxed at the highest rate) could no longer be able to discharge even the less expensive duties, careful management had been known so to increase small estates of two talents or even of one, by doubling or trebling them, that their owners (hitherto free from such obligation) had presently found themselves eligible for the performance of these services. (καίτοι πῶς οὐ δεινὸν ἕτεροι μὲν οἴκοι τετρακύντιοι καὶ διπλάκωντο καταλειφθέντες ἐκ τοῦ μισθωθῆναι διπλάσιοι καὶ τετραπλάσιοι γεγονόσιν, ὥστ' ἀξιοῦσθαι λητούργειν δ' ἐμὸς τετρακύντιον εἰσθισμένον καὶ μεγάλως εἰσφορὰς εἰσφέρειν μηδὲ μικρὰς δυνήσεται διὰ τὰς τούτων ἀρχοντίας; Dem. XXVII.64)

At Athens the wealthier citizens were required to discharge at their expense certain public services (λητούργειν). The ordinary liturgies were the χορηγία (provision of a chorus for one or other of the various lyric and dramatic contests at the Festivals), the γυμνησικεχία (the recruiting and training of one of the ten teams that competed in the arch race), the ἐστιάσις (the provision of a banquet for the members of the tribe or deme on the occasion of a festival), and the ἀρχιδωρεία (provision of the cost of a sacred embassy to one of the Panhellenic Festivals). The τετρακύντιον was an extraordinary liturgy imposed principally in time of war.

RICH' AND 'POOR'.

States (contd.)

talents

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|-----|--|
| 0. IVth c.
(1st half) | estimate of an inheritance | 2T. | Isaeus XI.44
(De Hagniae
Hereditate) |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|-----|--|

Note: v. Estates, 26.

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|-----|--|
| 1. IVth c.
(1st half) | a disputed estate | 2T. | Isaeus IV.7
(De Nicostrati
Hereditate) |
|--------------------------|-------------------|-----|--|

ote: When, after an absence from Athens of eleven years, Nicostratus, soldier of fortune, died on foreign service, leaving an estate of two talents, there was no end to the eager claimants who asserted their right to inherit. While such an estate did not stamp its owner rich - in that he was not obliged to defray the cost of any public service - it was evidently an attractive inheritance.

talent +

- | | | | |
|----------|----------------------------|---------|---------------------------|
| L Vth c. | Socrates' invested capital | 1T.10m. | Plutarch,
Aristides l. |
|----------|----------------------------|---------|---------------------------|

note: Plutarch, quoting the third century scholar Demetrius of Phalerum, records Socrates' possession of a dwelling-house and of a capital of twenty minae invested for him by Crito. Taylor (Socrates pp. 40-41) discusses a change in fortune which disposes of the seeming contradiction which exists even after allowance has been made for Socrates' irony between this statement of Demetrius and the valuation of five minae put on his effects by Socrates himself (Xen. Oec. 2, v. Estates, note 20).

minae (G.T.)

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|------|-----------------------------------|
| IVth c.
(2nd half) | the speaker's inheritance | 45m. | Dem. XLII.22
(Adv. Phaenippum) |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|------|-----------------------------------|

He: The speaker calls this inheritance one $\lambda\epsilon'$ $\eta\varsigma$ $\xi\eta\nu$ $\alpha\upsilon$ $\epsilon\lambda\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ $\xi\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$, a retrospective comment it may, of course, be coloured by his subsequent experience as one of the three hundred citizens who, as the wealthiest of their fellows,* were not only subject to the highest rate of assessment for payment of the property tax, but were each called upon to advance the whole sum due from the particular group of taxpayers to which he belonged.** He speaks of his public services as performed in spite of the initial handicap of so small a patrimony ($\alpha\lambda\lambda'$ $\epsilon\gamma\omega$ $\delta\epsilon\iota\chi\omega$ $\pi\acute{o\lambda\lambda\iota$ $\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omega\varsigma$, $\delta\epsilon$ $\tau\eta\nu$ $\mu\iota\kappa\epsilon\lambda\nu$ $\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha\nu$ $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\alpha\beta\omega\nu$ $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$) - a patrimony originally small enough*** to exempt him from the discharge of the public duties.

minae (5 1/2 T.)

- | | | | |
|-------------------|--|------|---------------|
| IVth c.
(beg.) | a citizen's valuation of
his property | 25m. | Lysias III.24 |
|-------------------|--|------|---------------|

He: In Lysias III.24, a citizen is asserted to have valued his/

for example, Dem. XVIII.171; XLII.3; Isaeus VI.60

for example, Dem. XXI.157; XXII.42; L.9; cf. XIV.16ff.

It was less than three talents - v. Estates, note 29, and footnote
p. 99.

'RICH' AND 'POOR'.

states (contd.)

his property at two hundred and fifty drachmae. (τὴν γὰρ οὐσίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων δραχμῶν ἐτιμήσατο.)

Whether or not the figures quoted do in every case truthfully record the fact is not of immediate concern (though I have tried in the notes to give sufficient of their context to reveal any tendency to exaggerate or to minimize); their interest lies rather in what, true or false, they meant to the general public. The evidence, reviewed as it has been above, is at least suggestive. Callias with his two hundred talents (the richest of the Athenians¹) was (on Aristotle's showing²) at four thousand removes from penury; Nicias with his hundred talents (to the Greeks alike of his own and of a later day a Croesus³) at two thousand removes; Pasion the banker with his seventy talents (notoriously rich) at one thousand, four hundred removes; Conon with his forty talents (wealth such that it excited comment and gave rise to idle exaggeration) at eight hundred removes; Demosthenes with his fifteen talents (in a masterly understatement he claimed "my father didn't leave me penniless" - οὐ πένητα ἀρέλιπεν μὲν πατὴρ XXVII.8) at three hundred removes; and citizens whose three talents just included them among those accounted rich, at sixty removes from penury. As the modern counterpart of the three hundred drachmae maximum capital permitted to disabled citizens receiving a grant from the State, take the £400 maximum capital⁴ permitted to applicants for the old-age non-contributory pension granted at seventy years of age and to applicants for supplementary pensions under the Old Age and Widows' Pension Act of 1940, and the man at sixty removes from penury would have £24,000, the man at three hundred removes, £120,000, the man at eight hundred removes, £320,000, the man at one thousand, four hundred removes, £800,000, and the man at four thousand removes from penury, £1,600,000. To speak of a man as a Nicias must, then have meant to the/

Plutarch, Aristides, 25

that 300d. was the maximum capital allowed a claimant for public relief; v. p. 89. ³ Athenaeus VI.272E

The following relevant excerpts are taken from the Assistance Board's Explanatory Leaflet, Supplementary Pensions, Old Age and Widows' Pension Act, 1940:

"A supplementary pension is granted only to pensioners who are in need of one and the amount of the grant depends on the amount of the need."

.....
"Where the pensioner (or the wife, husband or a dependant of the pensioner) has resources, whether income or capital, they have to be taken into account in deciding whether a supplementary pension is needed and, if so, the amount of it.

The way in which resources are taken into account depends on what they are. Some resources are disregarded in part or altogether; these are the first 10s.6d. of superannuation payments, the first 5s. of friendly society sickpay, the first 20s. of disability pension, one half of any weekly payment of workmen's compensation, the capital value of the house in which the pensioner lives, and the first £375 of War Savings In the case of capital other than War Savings a sum of less than £50 is disregarded and if it amounts to £50 or more 6d. a week is taken into account for the first £50 and for each complete £25 thereafter up to £400. If the capital exceeds £400 in value, no supplementary pension can usually be paid. Earnings of the pensioner or of the wife or husband of the pensioner are taken into account but 10s.6d. a week is allowed for the personal requirements of the earner.

Where the pensioner (or the husband or wife of the pensioner) is the householder and has self-supporting sons, daughters or other relatives/

'RICH' AND 'POOR'.

Estates (contd.)

the ancient Athenian more or less what we mean when we speak of a man as millionaire. Similarly his contemporaries must have thought of Callias, son of Hipponicus, much as we do of those whose Estate Duties in modern times are rated at 75 per cent,¹ while Epicrates was surely their equivalent of our multi-millionaire. To their fellow citizens the estates of Pasion, Conon and Demosthenes must have represented sums such as in modern times might be reckoned as intelligible fractions of a million - upwards of a half, upwards of a quarter, and rather less than an eight.

It must be remembered, however, that the maximum capital permitted to pensioners in ancient and modern times may reflect different standards of living. It is not enough to draw a parallel between Nicias and the disabled Athenian pensioner on the one hand, and the modern millionaire and the non-contributory old-age pensioner on the other. Such a parallel might even be misleading. For its proper interpretation we must know too the purchasing power of the disabled Athenian's income compares with that of the modern recipient of state relief.² What in practice as distinct from theory was penury in ancient Athens? And how does it compare with what we recognize as penury now? The usefulness of the analogies drawn above is limited to their provision of a background against which incomes define themselves. Pasion's income, for example, may be thought of as representative of the incomes of a limited number of exceptionally rich men, that of Demosthenes' father as typical of the richer rich citizens³ - and possibly, of the least rich of the richest (if Demosthenes means to imply that his guardians' entering his estate of almost fourteen talents as an estate of fifteen he was just included in the Three Hundred.⁴) Since rates of interest and the cost of living vary from age to age, an examination of incomes and their/

relatives living with him, a contribution of not more than 7s. a week from each such relative may also be taken into account as part of his resources, and set off against the amount of the supplementary pension." These provisions will, of course, be superseded in October 1946 by those contained in H.M. Stationery Pamphlet Cmd. 6878 - Increases in Old Age, Sights' and Blind Persons' Pensions, July, 1946.

The duty on an estate of £2,000,000 or over is 75 per cent - Chancellor of the Exchequer's Budget, April 9, 1946.

The argument is not vitiated by the use (p. 112) of figures which relate to Old Age Pensions but to Unemployment Benefit and Assistance, for these figures are equally dictated by contemporary conditions.

His estate comes midway between that of Onetor (30 talents, analogous to £40,000) and Timarchus (10 talents, analogous to £80,000) both of whom Demosthenes was confidently able to represent to his hearers as affluent.

The collection of the Eisphora, which at first had been in the hands of state officials, was made over about 374 B.C. as a liturgy to the 300 richest citizens, who paid in advance the full amount of the tax and recovered as best they could from the other members of their respective demes.

(Companion to Greek Studies p. 494) That Demosthenes was included in the Three Hundred seems to be implied by his leadership of a group of taxpayers - ἡγεμῶν συμμορίας ἡμῶν ἐγενόμην ἐγὼ ἐπὶ δέκα πρῶτον (XXI.157),

ἡμῶν καὶ Λυσιθέδου καὶ Καλλικλέους καὶ τοῖς πλουσιωτάτοις (XXI.157),

that this was due to his reputed inheritance he states εἰσφέρειν οὐκ ὀκνησάμενος αὐτοῖς (ὅπο γὰρ τῶν ἐπιτεσπῶν ἀπεστέεμην), ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης

ὅτι πατήρ μοι κατέλειπεν καὶ ἐν δίκαιον ἦν με δοκιμασθέντα κομισσάσθαι.

Current rates and costs are, of course, reflected in the 300d. of the ancient Athenian and in the £400 of the modern Briton, but it is the practical result that is really informative.

'RICH' AND 'POOR'.Incomes.

their purchasing power necessarily contributes more to an understanding of the economic life of the ancient Athenian than analogies based on capital values. It is the amount of money available for spending and what it can buy that gives life to the picture.

Instances of actual incomes are, however, all too few. It is greatly to be regretted that there is no authoritative record of Pasion's income, and that an attempted estimate must suffice. In the detail of his estate, Dem. XXXVI. 5) "more than fifty talents" (πλέον ἢ πέντηκοντα τάλαντα) are said to have been "lent at interest" (δεδανεισμέγον). In the fourth century B.C. interest at 12 to 18 per cent (if the higher rates of bottomry loans are set aside) seems to have been normal.* Reckoned at 15 per cent, the interest on a capital of 50 talents is 7 talents, 6 minae. In addition/

Capital in ancient times was considerably more productive than it is now - a fact which must be remembered in considering the relative size of ancient and modern fortunes. The following brief survey does not claim to be comprehensive, but it is indicative of the ancient rates of interest.

4th c.

I.G. i² 377 - a loan of 9 talents, 20 drachmae for five years at 10 per cent interest made by the officials who administered the temple of Apollo and Artemis at Delos is recorded in the accounts for 434/2 B.C.

4th c.

Isaeus XI. 42 - this reference, which relates to the beginning of the century, is to rents rated at roughly 8 per cent of the capital value of the houses and land.

Dem. XXX.7. - mention is made of interest at 10 per cent paid on a dowry retained by a former husband in the first half of the century. It is possible to argue from the context that this was a lower than average rate.

Dem. XXVII.9. - money lent in the first half of the century by Demosthenes' father at 12 per cent interest is mentioned.

Dem. XXVII.23 and 35 - 12 per cent was the rate employed by Demosthenes to reckon the liability of his guardians. (N.B. the suggestion that 12 per cent was a moderate rate: ὃ ἐν ἐπὶ δεαχμῇ τις τιθῇ μόνον ; ὅς τὸ ἔχον ἂν προσθῇ, ἐπὶ δεαχμῇ μόνον Cf. XXVII.17 μὴ γήμαντος, δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν μίτρεα τὴν ἐμὴν, ὃ μὲν νόμος κελεύει τὴν προικ' ἀφείλγειν ἐπ' ἐννέῳ ὀβολοῖς, ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ δεαχμῇ μόνον.) Twelve per cent was probably chosen by Demosthenes because the detail of his inheritance instanced the loan of a talent made by his father at that rate.

Aeschines, c. Ctesiphontem 103 - 12 per cent is the rate mentioned on a money security in the second half of the century.

I.G. ii² 1241 - this inscription records the rent of a house at 12 per cent of its capital value, between 300/299 and 291/0 B.C.

Dem. L.17 - mention is made of money borrowed on bottomry in the first half of the century at this rate.

(continued overleaf)

'RICH' AND 'POOR'.Incomes (contd.)

In addition to this, Pasion's bank brought in an annual rent of 100 minae (Dem. XXXVI.11, 37 and 51; XLV.32), and his shield factory an annual rent of 1 talent. Possible revenue from other landed property must for lack of evidence be discounted. As an estimate of Pasion's income the sum of 10 talents seems, therefore, reasonable.

In Demosthenes' speech against Phaenippus (XLII) - a suit arising out of the speaker's challenging Phaenippus to an exchange of properties,² is better able to be included in the Three Hundred³ than himself - a most interesting record survives. For wood from his farm, Phaenippus received more than 12 drachmae a day; that is to say, in a year of 360 days (ἐξ ἡμερῶν δι' ἐνιαυτοῦ ὑλαγωγοῦσιν) more than 43m.20d. (XLII.7). More than 1000 medimni of barley at 18d. the medimnus, and upwards of 800 metretae of wine at 12d. the metretes, brought in more than 4T.36m. (XLII.20). He/

contd. from preceding page)

4th c. (contd.)

Dem. LIII.13 - the reference, which relates to the first half of the century, records the rate of interest paid on a loan on mortgage. (Cf. a similar rate, 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent, exacted in the Bosphorus. Dem. XXXIV.23)

Isaeus XI. 17 - money lent at 18 per cent at the beginning of the century is mentioned.

Dem. XXVII.17 - in the first half of the century interest on the dowry of a rejected wife was paid at this rate.

Dem. LIX.52 - in the second half of the century a similar payment is recorded.

I.G. ii² 2679 - an inscription belonging to the year 305/4 B.C. records the payment of interest at 18 per cent on land held as security for a dowry.

Xen. On Revenues 3.7.14 - the reference is to a bottomry rate in the first half of the century.

Dem. XXXV.10 - the reference is to a bottomry rate in the second half of the century.

Dem. XXXV.10 - the reference is to a bottomry rate in the second half of the century.

Dem. XXXIV. 23 - the reference is to a bottomry rate in the second half of the century.

Xen. On Revenues 3.7.14 - the reference is to a bottomry rate in the first half of the century.

Aristotle (Rhet. III.10) quotes a metaphorical expression of Moerocles (IVth c.) - "that he was as little of a rogue as a certain respectable citizen he named; for the latter got 33 per cent for his roguery, while he himself got only 10."

This is the income which, according to Xenophon, (On Revenues 4.14) Moerocles (Vth c., 2nd half) had from his mining interests.

At Athens a citizen charged with one of the public services (προεδρία), or with a property tax (εἰσφορὰ), might call upon any citizen whom he thought richer than himself either to exchange properties or submit to the charge himself.

p. 102, footnote 4.

'RICH' AND 'POOR'.

Incomes (contd.)

He had, therefore, an income of over 5 talents.' That the year was one of famine prices (after 330 B.C.), that the speaker had a strong incentive to plausible exaggeration, does not affect the fact that the possession of such an income stamped a man as unmistakably one of the wealthiest citizens.

In detailing his inheritance (XXVII.9ff.) Demosthenes estimated that part of his father's capital which produced a regular income at 4T.50m., roughly a third of the whole. This gave an annual return of 50 minae. To this must be added possible revenue from 1T.10m. then invested in Attomry, from 46 minae deposited in various banks, and from 1T. then lent without interest to friends. (The value of the materials in the factories, of the house and its furnishings, and of money in the house is disregarded.) Reckoned at 15 per cent the addition to be made is 1m.40d., which gives a total of 1T.16m.40d., rather more than 14T. Attomry loans might, however, be much more productive. The cash in the house - 1T.20m. - represented, on the present estimate, rather more than a year's income. To assume an income of 2T. seems reasonable.²

That an income of between one and two talents excited admiration is evident from Isaeus' speech on the estate of Dicaeogenes. More than once he calls attention to the fact that the income from the estate of Dicaeogenes amounted to 80 minae (V.11; V.35), and attacking Dicaeogenes the third, who had enjoyed it for ten years, the speaker characterizes him as πλούσιον καὶ ποιηρότατον ἀνδρῶπων.

Stratocles, the capital value of whose estate was 5½ talents (Isaeus I.42), had an income of 15 minae from land and houses, and of 7m.20d. from 4,000d. lent at 18 per cent. The sale of his effects brought in 900d., and cash in the house amounted to 900d. These two sums may be disregarded, but possible revenue from about 1,000 drachmae then lent without interest might have amounted (at 15 per cent) to 150 drachmae, giving a total of between 23 and 24 minae.

Rates of pay also furnish evidence for incomes. Lucian (A.D. c.115-180) represents Timon in his distress (Vth c. B.C.) as a farm labourer toiling hard and swearing fluently on the lower slopes of Hymettus for 3 obols the day (Timon 6-7, cf.12). Four obols the day are mentioned by Aristophanes (v. Pollux VII.133) as a porter's wages. The implication in Aristophanes' Ecclesiazusae (392/1 or 389/8 B.C.) where (1.310) he speaks of the ecclesiast receiving his 3 obols for transacting public business ἐπεὶ πηλοφοροῦντες is not necessarily that a labourer was paid at the rate of 3 obols a day; it might refer simply to a payment of 3 obols for maintenance.³ A more reliable record for the fifth century is found in/

Hipponicus the third, father-in-law of Alcibiades, is quoted by Xenophon (On Revenues 4.14) as drawing an income of 6 talents from his mines.

Three talents a year, Xenophon records, accrued to Philemonides from his mines.

Gr. I.G. ii² 1672.

'RICH' AND 'POOR'.

Incomes (contd.)

In an inscription relating to public works in the year 433/2 B.C. where a drachma a day is the rate mentioned. The inscription dealing with the resumption of work on the Erechtheum in 409/8 B.C. (I.G. i² 373) also furnishes useful figures. Skilled work (that of sawyers and carpenters) was paid at the rate of a drachma a day. In the Erechtheum accounts for 408/7 B.C. (I.G. i² 374) payment for skilled labour (sawyers) is entered sometimes as a drachma the day, sometimes (joiners) at 5 obols. Fragments of accounts subsequent to 408/7 B.C. also record payments of a drachma a day (I.G. i² 374). Much of the work, however, was done (probably more profitably for the worker) as piece-work. Rhadius living in Collytus, for example, in the same prytany in which he and an assistant worked twelve days at a drachma the day, earned also 28 drachmae "for sawing fourteen eight-foot timbers, 84 cuts, at 2 obols the cut", 5 drachmae "for sawing a timber 24 ft. long, 5 cuts, at 1d. a cut", and 1d. 2ob. "for sawing a timber for the struts". The architect's salary was reckoned at the rate of a drachma a day; that of his clerk at 5 obols. Thus in a year of 360 days, if allowance is made for sixty holidays but not for unemployment, the workman's income, reckoned at a drachma the day, comes to 300d. the architect's salary comes to 360d., and that of his clerk to 300d.

In the second half of the fourth century B.C. rates of pay were higher. Entries in the accounts of the Eleusinian officials for 329/8 B.C. (I.G. ii² 1672) show that labourers taking their meals at home were paid 2 drachmae the day, skilled workmen 2 or 2½ drachmae. If their employment was unbroken, the year's income therefore amounted to 450 drachmae for a labourer, and to 600 to 900 drachmae for the skilled workman. The architect's salary reckoned at 2 drachmae the day was 720 drachmae.² State slaves were given 3 obols a day - 180d. in the year - for maintenance, and had their clothes provided. Their overseer also received 3 obols a day - 180d. in the year - for maintenance, but was paid in addition 10d. in the prytany - 100d. in the year - and had to provide his own clothes. His income was, therefore, 280d.

From this review of the evidence for earned incomes in fifth and fourth century Athens the following facts emerge: In the second half of the fifth century a labourer may be reckoned to have earned 200d. a year, skilled workers 250d. or 300d. An architect's clerk had a salary of 300d., the architect himself, a salary of 360d. That is to say, a skilled worker's income was 1.25 or 1.5 times as great as a labourer's. A clerk's income was equal to that reckoned at the higher rate for skilled workers (1.5 times a labourer's), but the clerk's income was assured. The professional man (represented by the architect) also had an assured income, 1.8 times greater than the labourer's. If we suppose the whole of the disabled person's capital³ to have been productive, reckon his interest at 10 per cent,⁴ and add in his dole of an obol the day,⁵ he had 90 drachmae on which to live. His income was at the most (since he is credited with the/

In the fourth century, citizens could earn 3 obols a day - the equivalent of a worker's maintenance - by attending the ecclesia.

² B.C.H. XIV. 1890, pp. 478ff. - For the years 283, 279, 269, 190 and 180 B.C. the architect at Delos was similarly paid. In 250, 246 and 201 B.C. the rate was 1½ obols a day. In 282 B.C. the rate was at first 2d. a day, but when a fresh appointment was made, it was 3d. 5ob. In 278 B.C. it was 3d. a day. Homolle writes: "Il semblerait que les augmentations soient en rapport avec la qualité de l'architecte et que le prix fut débattu chaque année avec celui que l'on engageait."

³ footnote, p. 89 ⁴v. footnote, p. 103 ⁵v. footnote, p. 89

'RICH' AND 'POOR'.

Incomes (contd.); Purchasing Power.

the maximum amount of capital reckoned as wholly productive, while the possibility of the labourer's having any unearned income is disregarded) less than half that of the labourer.

In the second half of the fourth century, a labourer may be reckoned to have earned 450d. a year, skilled workers 600d. or 900d. The professional man's income was 720d. That is to say, a skilled worker's income was just over 1.5 times as great as a labourer's or, reckoned at the higher rate, twice as great. The professional man, with the advantage of security, had an income 1.6 times as great as the labourer. Pasion the banker's income of approximately 10 talents (60,000d.) in the first half of the fourth century was 133.33 times greater than that of the labourer in the second half of the century, 83.33 times greater than the earned income of the professional man. Phaenippus the farmer with, in a good year, an income of 5 talents, earned 66.66 times as much as the labourer, 1.66 times as much as the citizen engaged in a profession. Reckoned as talents, the income of Demosthenes' father in the first half of the century was 26.66 times greater than the labourer's, 16.66 times greater than the professional man's. With possibly 23½ minae a year (v. p. 105) Cratocles, a man of means, had in the first half of the century an income rather more than 5 times in advance of the labourer, and just over 25 times greater than that earned by a member of what we should call the professional class. If we, assuming as before that the whole of the disabled pensioner's capital was productive but reckoning his interest at 15 per cent,¹ add in his dole of 2 obols a day,² we find that he had 165d. on which to support himself - nearer a third than a half of the labourer's earnings.

What, then, could be done with such incomes? What food, shelter and clothing could they provide?

Unfortunately the evidence for the fifth century is too scanty to be conclusive - there are indeed no figures for the cost or rent of houses - but it is obvious enough that the lot of the disabled pensioner was one of abject poverty. His diet at the best must have been restricted to barley-meal and olives (varied by figs or myrtleberries, if we accept fourth century figures), and he can have had little enough of these. Suppose his household to have consisted simply of his wife and himself. There is no mention of additional allowance for wife or children.) A full ration each of barley-meal (and that was not accounted equal in enrichment to a similar allowance of wheat) would (using Plutarch's figure, v. Food, Barley-meal 2) swallow up a third of his income. Allow them instead two-thirds of the normal ration for two persons, and 20d. is gone. Suppose they made a choenix of olives (1.92 pints) last for 10 days, their scanty opson would cost 7½ drachmae (v. Food, Fruit 1). The price of the poor man's cloak (τειβώνιον) is not recorded. Suidas defines τειβώνιον as φόρημα κυνικόν - ἱμάτιον πελαϊόν. It was, no doubt, the single garment worn by Socrates summer and winter of which Xenophon writes (Mem. 1.vi.2): καὶ ἱμάτιον ἡμφιεσάι οὐ μόνον φαῦλον, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τε καὶ χειμῶνος, ἀνυπόδητος τε καὶ ἀχίτων διατελεῖς. The extreme cold of early spring nights in Attica and the comment Socrates' behaviour excited - εἷς τοῦν αὐτὸς ὡς οὐδ' ἂν εἰς δούλος ὑπὸ δεσπότην ὄντων μείγναι - suggest, however, that it was not normally worn as/

footnote, pp. 103-4.

footnote, p. 89.

Purchasing Power (contd.)

the only garment, but as the outer garment. (Cf. Aristophanes, *Vespae* 131-2, where a $\chi\lambda\alpha\tau\upsilon\alpha$ is to be worn $\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma\omega\nu\iota\kappa\omega\varsigma$.) For the sake of argument, say that it cost, like the workman's tunic ($\xi\gamma\omega\mu\iota\varsigma$ - Tunic 1), 10 drachmae. Then, if a new undergarment was bought for each in alternate years, and a new outer-garment for each in turn every four years, at like cost for husband and wife, 15 drachmae must be added to their yearly expenditure. If 8 per cent of the capital value may be taken as the rent charged in the fifth as well as in the fourth century,¹ and if capital values were similar in both centuries, then, reckoned on that of the cheapest house of which there is record,² their rent (supposing such accommodation was available in the city - the house in question was in the *ekklētiā*, an inland deme) would be about 8½ drachmae.³ Barely nourished, ill-clad, and problematically housed, they are left with 39 drachmae. Under-fed and scantily clad like themselves, a single child would account for another 21 drachmae. Fifteen of the remaining 18 drachmae expended on barley-meal would bring the family meal ration (counting the child's half that of the adult) up to normal subsistence level, but would leave only 3 drachmae for sundries. (To mention only one essential sundry, oil - $\xi\lambda\alpha\iota\alpha$ - was coupled in the Wasps - 300-1 - with barley-meal and opson as an indispensable necessity.) If, on the other hand, there were no children, they might allow themselves the luxury of sandals in alternate years. No fifth century price is recorded, but very early in the fourth century (389/8 B.C.) 8 drachmae are mentioned by Aristophanes in a context which suggests a price above the average.⁴ Suppose them, therefore, to have cost 6 drachmae (as later in the fourth century they did⁵) and, remembering the roughness of the terrain, allow 3 drachmae each for yearly repairs. This leaves 30 drachmae with which to review the situation. Ten drachmae would bring their meal ration up to normal; to more allow them three cotylae of wine roughly once a week. Ten would remain for sundries. Even if the wife supplemented the income by casual earnings of her own, the struggle to make ends meet must have been unremitting.

It is true that conjecture has played a considerable part in this sketch. Not every price is sufficiently attested and hypothesis furnishes the detail of the expenditure. Even so, the inadequacy of the pensioner's allowance is evident. Childless, his wife and he must have subsisted angrily on a spare and monotonous diet. Oil at 3d, the chous (v. p. 29, 11) and cooked meat at ½ obol (v. p. 28, Cooked Meat 2 and 3) were not enough for him. It was difficult, if not impossible to be clad. A child added to the household meant bare feet and water; more than one child, starvation. Lack of reliable figures for the fifth century makes pointless a detailed examination of other fifth century incomes. From what has been said, it is clear enough that the lot of a married labourer earning, if his employment was unbroken, 200d. in the year was not an enviable one. He must have been anxious even for the man with 300 drachmae.

p. 103, footnote; also Shelter, Table V, item and note 2.

Shelter, Table I, 32.

¹ The rent of a house in Delos - 10d. - in 282 B.C., p. 79, and the rents of houses in Ceos - 10d., 7d., and 5d. - at the beginning of the third century B.C., p. 80. In the absence of figures for the rent of an apartment in a *συνοικία*, the present hypothesis must suffice for estimate of the year's expenditure on shelter.

⁵ p. 84, Clothes, Shoes 1. v. p. 84, Clothes, Shoes 2.

'RICH' AND 'POOR'.Purchasing Power (contd.)

For the fourth century there is more evidence. Representative expenditure on the year's food for a family consisting of husband, wife and two children is indicated in the following table. If it is remarked that the cost of the year's barley-meal or wheat is reckoned at three adult rations a day, that the opson is meagre, and that the price of oil has been omitted from the reckoning, it will be recognized that the allowance, though sufficient to sustain life, is not liberal.

Food for a Family of Four (husband, wife and two children)

Year's barley-meal (reckoned at 3 adult rations)30d.
or wheat45d.

Year's opson -

1. at the rate of $\frac{1}{8}$ ob. per day 7d. 3ob.
(e.g. a choenix of lupins)
2. at the rate of $\frac{1}{4}$ ob. per day15d.
(e.g. a choenix of figs or myrtleberries)
3. at the rate of $\frac{3}{8}$ ob. per day22d. 3ob.
(ill-natured gossip's report of a husband's allowance to his wife for the purchase of the family opson - Theophrastus XXVIII.)
4. at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ ob. per day30d.
(e.g. cheese; anchovies; meat - possibly only as much as one might have eaten)
5. at the rate of $\frac{5}{8}$ ob. per day37d. 3ob.
(e.g. pickled tunny; sausage)
6. at the rate of $\frac{7}{8}$ ob. per day52d. 3ob.
(e.g. mussels)
7. at the rate of 1ob. per day60d.
(e.g. citrons, urchins, 4 scraps of meat)
8. at the rate of 2ob. per day120d.
(e.g. salt fish; dried fish)
9. at the rate of 3ob. per day180d.
(e.g. honey, a morsel of roast pig)
10. Average opsonc.58d.

Year's wine -

1. at 1ob. for 3 cotylae60d.
2. at $1\frac{1}{2}$ ob. for 3 cotylae90d.

For shelter, the purchase of a small house in Athens is recorded by Demosthenes. It cost 700d.¹ Such a house (if available) might be rented, therefore, for 56d.² We know too, on the most reliable evidence of all - epigraphical - that a workshop in Piraeus ~~and~~ a dwelling-house adjoining it were in fact rented for 54d.³ For clothing the prices from/

¹p. 38, Table I, 30. ²v. p. 108, footnote 1. ³v. p. 67, Table VI, 2.

'RICH' AND 'POOR'.Purchasing Power (contd.)

from the Eleusinian building inscriptions form the basis of reckoning:

workman's tunic	c.7d.	3ob.
workman's goatskin jacket	c.3d.	
workman's cap	1d.	$\frac{3}{4}$ ob.
cloak	18d.	3ob.
sandals (purchase and subsequent cobbling)	10d.	
total	c.30d.	

budget of 100 drachmae for the family's yearly expenditure on clothing would not admit of a superfluous purchase.

With an income of 450d. (but this was not assured to those paid wages by the day) a man could provide for a small family in frugal fashion. In a year of unbroken employment wheat (if available) could be purchased instead of barley-meal, an average (but admittedly scanty) opson and wine at the cheaper rate for a total expenditure of 163d. Add to this 54d. for rent, and 100d. as a minimum expenditure on clothing, and the total of 317d. leaves 133 drachmae from which (after a deduction for oil at perhaps 1d. the chous = 5.76 pints) to meet general household expenditure, that a meagre existence such a family must have had is readily grasped when we consider that the present estimate for their year's food (163d.), less augmented from the money still to be expended, could not have maintained two state slaves at their official rate of 3 obols the day (180d. in the year). With a possible income of 600 to 900d. the skilled workman, and with an assured income of 720d. the professional man at first sight seem relatively well-off. They could certainly afford four mult rations of wheat, an opson at the rate of 2ob. a day, and the rarer wine (240d.). Yet were the latter to feed himself, his wife and two children (reckoning the children's allowance as the equivalent of a single youth's), at the rate thought proper for the ephebi - δίδωσι ... εἰς τὸν τοῖς ἐφηβοῖς τέτταρας ὀβολοὺς ἑκάστην Ath Pol. 42 - not a penny could he have had for rent, clothing and general expenses. Food alone would have swallowed up his 720 drachmae.

To the Athenian of the fourth century the daily allowance of a drachma for maintenance must have represented a high standard of living.

Indication of this is, indeed, to be found in an inscription (I.G. ii² 2) which records the daily allowance of a drachma δῖπας ἂν μὴ ἀποεῖται εἰς Περικλῆδης paid by the State in 334/3 B.C. during his stay in the city to a benefactor from Delos. A drachma a day was likewise allowed to the instructor (σωφρονιστής) of the ephebi (Ath. Pol. 42) εἰς τρεοφίαν, and to the archon sent to Salamis, and to the Amphictyons sent to Delos a drachma a day was allowed for board (εἰς δίτησιν). The year's food for a family of four (allowing 4 obols each for two children) maintained on these lines would amount to 1,200d. or 12a. Demosthenes' household was perhaps in this category. For the maintenance of the young Demosthenes, his younger sister and his mother 7 minae were expended each year (XXVII. 4 seq.).

How terrible by contrast, and in fact, was the plight of the disabled prisoner! With 165d. a year his income was smaller than the maintenance allowance of a state slave!

RICH' AND 'POOR'.

Purchasing Power (contd.)

If the figures from the Delian Temple Accounts may be taken as guide, the case of a married man without children in the third century, when according to Philochorus the pension had been raised to 5 obols a day, was tolerable, but even one child meant hardship. His allowance together with interest at 15 per cent on the maximum permitted capital regarded as wholly productive gives an income of 345 drachmae. Without children, they might have spent 4 obols a day on food. Two obols was the daily allowance for food made to the female slave (ἡ ἀνδραπίρος v. B.C.H. XIV. p.480) who baked the workmen's rations of meal, to a male slave (ὁ ἀνδραπίρος) whose duties are not clearly defined (p.480), and to a female flute-player, whether slave or free (p.487). Using as the basis of reckoning a clothing allowance of from 15 to 25 drachmae a year made to the male slave (B.C.H. XIV. pp.480-1), there would have been at least 15 drachmae for rent and other expenses. In the accounts a rent of 10d. is recorded.² The addition of a single child to the household would, however, result in short commons; for even the addition of half an obol a day for food (a quarter of the adult's allowance) leaves at most 45d. for rent, general expenses and the clothing of the child. It should be further remarked that the detail of the temple accounts for 282 B.C. shows that a workman's rations consisted of either 1½ choenices of wheat or 3 choenices of barley-meal (que la boulangère fait cuire - B.C.H. XIV. p.482) and a daily allowance of 2 obols for opson alone. (τοῖς τεχνίταις ἡμετέροις. Μηνὸς Δηναιῶνος, εἰς ὁψώνιον δαρχμαῖς ΔΔΔΙ. G. xi.2.158A, 37.) In the accounts for 279 B.C. the year's allowance made to each man for food is reckoned at 4 obols a day, and is entered as 240d. without tail. Homolle writes: On avait donc, semble-t-il adopté pour l'allocation de nourriture un chiffre moyen sans s'astreindre aux variétés des cours, soit qu'on leur remit la somme à eux-mêmes pour se défrayer, and this interestingly, Après 269 on ne trouve plus d'ouvriers employés à l'année et nourris, ni en qualité de λιδοιργός, ni pour le repassage des stils; on s'adresse en cas de besoin à un ouvrier libre avec qui l'on traite. (B.C.H. XIV. p.483) Again, then, even at the best, the level at which the pensioner maintained his household cannot have been far removed from bare subsistence.

Today at £4.10.0 a week a labourer's income is £234, that of a journeyman builder, at £5.10.0 a week, £286. Edinburgh Corporation, advertising in the Glasgow Herald, April 11, 1946, invited applications for the appointment of a City Architect. The salary scale quoted was £320 rising to £1,870 per annum by annual increments of £50, plus war increase (at present £120). In the same paper an advertisement in which the Corporation of Glasgow invited applications for six architectural assistants in the architectural section of the City Engineer's Department quoted salaries of £200 per annum rising to £320 plus £78 war bonus. This presents a skilled workman's income as rather less than 1.25 times greater than a labourer's, an architectural assistant's maximum income rather less than 1.75 times greater than a labourer's, and an architect in a responsible position as having an income roughly 5 times in advance/

allowing 50d. for clothing

more than one of from 20 to 25d.

allowing 30d. for clothing

'RICH' AND 'POOR'.

Purchasing Power (contd.)

advance of a labourer's. It should at once be remarked, of course, that such remuneration as this last is not typical of the professional classes, but only of their more successful members. In Scotland the maximum income of a male teacher, for example, other than a Headmaster or Principal Teacher of a subject or combination of subjects in a Secondary school (reached in the nineteenth year of employment) is £650, a sum rather less than 3 times greater than that earned by the labourer.

The complexity of modern life, however, makes haphazard comparison based on the character of a man's employment. What 'rich' and 'poor' mean in modern times is, perhaps, best determined by reference to the various grades of tax-payers, but, before considering the proportion obtaining between the incomes characterized in this way in relation to that in which the incomes of Pasion, and Demosthenes' father, and those like them stood to the incomes of the poor citizens of their day, the circumstances of the modern counterpart of the Athenian receiving relief may be noticed.

The income derived from Unemployment Benefit² may be compared with that of the disabled Athenian pensioner. At 39/- a week, the income for man and wife is £101.8.0, or at 39/- a week plus 5/- a week, for man, wife and child £114.8.0. The unemployed workman married but childless, or with one child, receives rather less than half of the labourer's earnings for a year. With the introduction of Family Allowances which entitle all parents to 5/- for a second and each succeeding child below the upper limit of the compulsory school age,³ further payments of 5/- to the unemployed workman in respect of each succeeding child now cancel out. At first sight this ratio seems similar to that in which the incomes of the Athenian labourer and pensioner stood to each other (v. p. 107), but it must be remembered that, whereas the calculation in respect of the disabled Athenian was based on his whole income, the present calculation is based only on relief granted, and that no further relief is, so far as we know, granted to the Athenian in respect of his children.

How far does £101.8.0 go toward the provision of food, clothing and shelter? The present weekly allowance of rationed foods for a household of two adults works out as follows:⁴

Bacon	- 6oz. (cheapest, uncooked, boneless smoked - @ 1/5 per lb.)	6½d.
Sugar	- 8oz. (granulated, @ 4d. per lb.)	2d.
Tea	- 5oz. (@ 3/- per lb.)	11½d.
Cheese	- 4oz. (cheapest, @ 10d. per lb.)	2½d.
Fat	-	2s. 8d.
Cooking fat	- 2oz.	1½d.
Butter/Margarine	- 12oz. (reckoned as half butter @ 1/6 per lb., and half standard margarine @ 5d. per lb.)	8½d.
Bread	- 18 units (reckoned as 4 large loaves and one small)	1s. 8¾d.
Reserves	- 8oz. (if bought 2lbs. at a time)	6d.
Total		6s. 9d.

v. Teviot Salary Scales, April 1, 1945 - March 31, 1948.

granted to insured persons between the age of 16 years and 65 years provided the necessary contributions have been made. Unemployment Assistance - paid at the same rate - is granted to a person within the scope of Unemployment Insurance not entitled to benefit by right of contributions whose need is proved.

v. Family Allowances Act, 1945.

Calculations are based on the Ministry of Food Pamphlet, June 24, 1946.

'RICH' AND 'POOR'.Purchasing Power (contd.); General Comparison of Modern and Ancient Incomes.

Half a crown a week might be allowed for 'pointed' foods, making a total of 9/3. In this yearly expenditure of £23.10.3, the cost of milk has not been included, since price and permitted quantity vary with the seasons. The rent of a one-room-and-kitchen house in a working-class tenement exclusive of rates which may be reckoned at roughly a third of the rent) is about £14. If £20 a year is set aside for the provision of a house, about £58 remain for clothing and general expenses (including light and heat, and unrationed foods). If Utility Clothing only were bought, they might manage on a clothes allowance of £30. Theirs is obviously not an easy life, but it seems possible that, if they chose so to expend their money, they could be both better fed and better clad than the disabled Athenian. On the other hand, his entertainments were provided by the State. Expenditure on entertainment may easily mean that his modern counterpart goes both hungry and ragged. How hard his lot is may be judged by the fact that if the year's expenditure on bare rations (£23.10.3) be added to the maximum available for general household expenses (£28.0.0), the total, £51.10.3, is under half of the £10-£15 a month (£120-£180 a year) required to maintain (exclusive of light and heat) a middle-class family of two to three persons in comfort.

The incomes of rich and poor at the present day may be distinguished with reference to the limit for Income Tax Exemption - set for 1946-7 at £20 - and the limit for exemption from Surtax - set for 1946-7 at £2,000. Within these limits incomes of £1,200 and of £1,500 help to define prosperity, since earned income allowance on incomes between these limits is on a diminishing scale and at £1,500 disappears altogether. Estimated in this way, the rich man's income (£2,000) is 16.66 times greater than the poor man's (£120), the very degree of difference which existed between the estimated income of Demosthenes' father and that of a fourth century architect. The man who earns £2,500 a year, the lowest figure on which Surtax is charged, may be thought of like Demosthenes' father as the poorest rich of the richest citizens. His income is rather less than 10.75 times as great as a labourer's today, but Demosthenes' father's income is 26.66 times greater than that of the labourer of his day. Stratocles, whose estate of five talents stamped him as unmistakably prosperous, has a reasonable parallel in the man with £1,500. Stratocles' estimated income was rather more than 5 times greater than the fourth century labourer's, that of his modern counterpart rather less than 3.25 times in advance of the labourer's today. The fourth century architect's income, it may be remembered, was fully 3.25 times smaller than that of Stratocles. Today, if his post is a good one, the architect may himself earn upwards of £1,500. In the Glasgow Herald, October 24, 1945, a table showing amounts of Income Tax and of Surtax payable by the various grades of taxpayers under the rates of tax and allowance announced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his interim Budget deals with incomes up to £100,000, but the scaling of the rates of taxation and of surtax is such that once the taxation on both incomes has been deducted, the largest income is not 30 times as great as a labourer's. Pasion's, on the other hand, was 133.33 times greater than that of the labourer of his day. Of course he too had obligations to the State that the labourer had not, but they were certainly not comparable to those of the richest citizens today. An expenditure on liturgies of 10½T. in eight years is/

